

SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1938

POOR WHITES OF THE SOUTH

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I

A NUMBER of recent events have tended to revivify the problem and dilemma of the "poor whites" in the South. The literary and dramatic scene, with its flood of literature about the South and its presentations of the South on Broadway, is, of course, one chief factor. It would seem that the Nation has become Tobacco Road conscious to the extent of a relatively new and almost universal caricature of the great body of poor southern rural and industrial folk as "poor whites." Along with this convergence of attention, from another direction has come the rediscovery of the farm tenants by both the North and the South emphasizing one aspect of the low standards of living and near-poverty of millions of southern folk brought into focus by the depression. The rise and incidence of regionalism, in which the trend is to inventory the several regions, due to the necessity of the New Deal differentials as well as to the general movement of American Regionalism, have been other factors focusing attention upon the human as well as the physical resources of the southern regions. It seems likely that this last may be the most important of all recent developments in that it furnishes the framework for the present trend to

study the people of the South as human resources in relation to the development of a richer regional and national culture.

This study of the southern people is one of the "musts" in the program of research and planning for the next period of development in the South and the Nation. It is commonly said that no region of the Nation has been so completely documented as has the South. This seems quite likely, and certainly never before have there been such comprehensive inventories of its wealth and waste, its resources and prospects, and never before perhaps has there been such high motivation on the part of the South to achieve new realities in regional development and achievement. Howard W. Odum, in *Southern Regions of the United States*, has made a most thorough-going analysis of the great resources of the South, both physical and human. He has shown that the region has a superabundance in potentiality of both and needs only the skill and technology of science and trained people to translate them, on the one hand, into capital and wealth, and, on the other, into richer institutions and a superior people. Theoretically, of course, this is the old problem of the conservation and utilization of the people in harmony with land and the folk regional society.

Now comes the sceptic and patriot alike asking whether the superabundance of people with their ever multiplying and replenishing trends in the midst of a region of handicaps and limitations is asset or liability. The South boasts of the best people and complains of the worst. Many of the economists and biologists claim that these great masses of folk constitute perhaps the chief drain of the South, especially when it is noted that they are ill equipped in health, education, and experience.

The answer to this question is that nobody knows. The fact is that we know very little about the population of the South, and what we assume that we "know" is so colored by traditionally accepted ideas, often mutually contradictory and without verified factual basis, that it is worse than no knowledge at all. We must not only know the usual facts of composition of the population—birth rates, death rates, mobility, income, and the like—but we must undertake further inquiries into the promise and prospect of the population with reference to population policies, as well as the natural vigor and reproductive capacity of the people.

Among the many major fields or areas which must have scientific and realistic study is that brought up by the recent revivification of the old concept of "poor whites," which has rapidly gained momentum on the assumption that perhaps the majority of the poorer people on southern farms and in industrial villages are poor whites. This is an amazing sort of assumption, reaching dramatic proportions, and accepted by professors of Harvard and Yale, by industrial leaders and common man alike, as a premise of southern pathology.

An examination of this assumption leads immediately to the fact of almost

complete lack of any consensus of opinion as to the use of the term and as to its application both in the past and in the present. Evidently there is a dilemma here of definition and concept which must be met and a way out at least tentatively established, as a necessary first step in realistic study of the submarginal groups in the South of today and in planning for more adequate participation on the part of these groups in the well-being of the region and the nation. A socio-economic theory of the poor whites is offered here as such a first step.

II

The development of such a theory required all possible appraisals. Such appraisals were to be gained in several ways—from source materials in the history of the South; from source materials in the study of southern economic life; from special concrete culture studies; from current articles and observations of students and journalists; and from social scientists whose work and interests qualified them to have opinions, valid or otherwise. Especially needed were these current appraisals both of the concept and of the use of the term. In order for the first time to obtain both original and confirming appraisals from the social scientists, letters asking specific points were sent to five groups from which more than a hundred replies were received. The ones to whom letters were sent were selected in such a way as to include those who through affiliations with the South would normally have a basis upon which to answer the letters, and to those who through lack of such affiliations would test the validity of the concept and the term in the general setting. The five groups were sociologists, economists, historians, professional educators, and a final group unlike perhaps in all respects

except the possession of a distinctly southern social heritage. While few social scientists were willing to venture an exact definition of the term, the actual definitions submitted are themselves an objective lesson in the difficulties, variations, and indefiniteness involved in the problem. The interplay of these gives valuable substantiating evidence of the great diversity of opinion as to past and current usage of terms.

Definitive material from these "poor white letters" and from published sources was compared and evaluated in the light of descriptive material from the annals of travelers and random observers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and of the conclusions presented by students of the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Out of the comparing and evaluating, a theory defining the poor whites emerged, for a statement of which a brief summary of the facts in the case and their interpretation seems necessary.

III

From the historical standpoint, the story of the South falls into three rather clear-cut periods. First, there is the formative period preceding 1700; second, the period of the plantation-slave economy from about 1700 to the Civil War; and third, the period of the new economy since the Civil War. During the middle period the South was more definitely set apart in economic life and culture from the rest of the country than in either of the two other periods, and in that period the poor whites came on the southern scene as one of three classes in the white population—the planters, the yeoman farmers, and the poor whites.

In the early period the physical environment and the human element within that environment both tended toward uniform-

ity of culture in all the settlements along the seaboard. The influence of the physical environment was most marked in its setting of the problem of conquering the wilderness. In this struggle with nature, the frontier type of life formed a pattern of doing and thinking which made all first settlements wherever located resemble each other much more than they resembled the tidewater older established regions which the pioneers left behind them. It was time and diverse experience which brought differentiation as the frontier advanced, leaving behind it communities in the process of settling down into patterns of culture varying the one from the other. The wilderness being conquered, each different type of physical environment set differing problems and the meeting of these set up influences which made for diversity rather than uniformity.

But in the early days of settlement of the tidewater regions all up and down the coast another element of uniformity was in the people themselves. The thirteen colonies were uniform to a great degree as to racial background. English, for the most part, were the people who came to fight for a foothold in the new country, but there were also non-English stocks such as the widely scattered Scotch-Irish, the Germans in Pennsylvania, the Dutch in the Hudson River Valley, and, at the end of the seventeenth century, French Huguenots in practically all the colonies. But these groups were close kin biologically and culturally, and beyond that were alike in the motives which actuated them in starting life anew as conquerors of the wilderness. As economic cross-sections of the respective national groups from which they came, the early American colonists were quite similar. Few were well-fixed, and fewer still were wealthy. Those who lived at home economically

advantageous lives seldom felt the lure of or need for fortune hunting under hard conditions, unless perchance desire for religious or political freedom made difficulties seem inconsequential. For the most part, however, those belonging to religious or political minority groups made little change in the economic composition of the various colonies. Leaving little or nothing back home, most of the settlers started with little or nothing in the new country, fighting to realize the promise which America seemed to hold out to them.

In this fight, the man-land ratio made the need for labor a pressing one. Negroes were brought as slaves to meet this need, but not in any appreciable numbers until the beginning of the eighteenth century. The early labor supply came through indentured servants and redemptioners, non-free white settlers on a lower rung of the economic ladder than most of the independent settlers. At the end of their periods of servitude, these attained their liberty with no legal separation from the rest of the population. Like the other poor among the strugglers for an economic foothold, they faced the problem of acquiring some property or of getting a place for themselves in the economic structure. Before 1700, opportunity for these poorer elements in the population to become independent artisans or to establish themselves as small farmers was fairly plentiful and to be found equally in all the colonies. After 1700 certain fundamental changes took place in the structure of economic life in the South in sharp contrast with the trend in the North, the direction of change in the former region being toward a lessening of economic opportunity, while that in the latter was toward an increasing variety of occupational openings meaning at least some sort of chance for the majority

of people. Speaking of the South and the change toward the end of the seventeenth century from the small farm economy to the plantation economy, James Truslow Adams says:

At the opening of the eighteenth century, it has been estimated that over sixty percent of the whites in Virginia had neither slaves nor indentured servants but tilled their own soil. In the years immediately following, there was little if any chance for these to rise in the scale. In the whole tidewater section along the coast of the several colonies, the creation and consolidating of the great estates was then going on. Land was increasing in value and the amount available diminishing. . . . The freed servant could not afford to buy even a few acres. The farmer who had tilled his own found himself not only struggling against economic conditions but becoming more and more despised by every neighbor who was sufficiently better off to be able to buy a slave or two and live in some sort of shifless way, provided that he did not labor in the fields himself. Even if the figure of sixty percent be too large, it is nevertheless evident that these conditions must have adversely affected a large proportion of the population, who had the options only of sinking to the level of the "poor whites," of emigrating to other colonies or to the frontier and starting afresh in a new environment. The type of social structure on the seaboard had become fixed in a new form within a few decades, and as a result of this rapid economic transformation, there was no longer any place in it for large numbers who had survived, even if they had not flourished, under the conditions of a generation earlier.¹

These changes meant two things in the lives of the poorer elements in the population of the South—first, the difference in the direction of development of economic life in the North and the South helped to make the situation in the latter peculiarly southern and accordingly unlike the North; and second, the establishment of the plantation-slave system in the South made it less possible after 1700 for the freed indentured servants and other disadvantaged folk to get the chance to rise

¹ J. T. Adams, *Provincial Society, 1690-1763*, pp. 217-218.

in the world or even to maintain a foothold.

As the tidewater sections became the old, established regions characterized by the plantation system, the early homogeneity of the population gave way to classes more or less well defined except on their edges where they faded into each other. These classes were the planters, the yeoman farmers or small-holders, and the poor whites at the bottom of the economic ladder. In the North, commerce, manufactures, and transportation played increasingly important rôles giving opportunity through a wage system to those with no resources of their own, while in agriculture the landless man could be the "hired man" working for wages with no lowering of status and biding his time until he could start out for himself. But agriculture based on slave labor as the dominant pattern of life in the South marked to all intents and purposes the limit of opportunity, this limitation becoming intensified by the characteristic features of the utilization of land. In a region peculiarly subject to erosion because of its physiographic aspects, and to soil exhaustion because of the development of a one crop system using slave labor, the planters constantly shifted to new lands, leaving in their wake "old fields" promising little or nothing to those who expended labor upon them. Thus in the plantation areas there was scarcely a chance for a good living for those farming on a small scale, for sooner or later the planters brought such economic pressure to bear that they got possession of most of the good lands leaving the less desirable and the worn out for a few of the smallholders and the poor whites. The majority of the yeoman farmers found it more advantageous to establish themselves outside the areas of the large plantations, but some of them

owning a few slaves managed to hold on to good land alongside the planters, while others who worked their own crops cultivated the inferior lands which the planters found it uneconomic to cultivate with slave labor. On the worn out lands, the poor whites "squatted," eking out an existence which was uncertain at best, but no worse than what was possible for them on the sandhills and pine-barrens where there was land which they could hold because no one else had ever wanted it.

The pressure of the plantation system on the land supply in the older areas was one of the forces back of what might be called the frontier process. The small farmers, feeling the economic pressure, pushed out to the frontier following the traders, the rangers and the ranchers, or made new paths for themselves in directions which gave promise of better things for the future. As hangers-on, some of the poor whites picked up their meager bag and baggage and went, too, and in some cases made good frontiersmen. Following this advance guard came the plantation owners whose advent marked the beginning of the disappearance of the frontier and the settling down to the pattern of life characteristic of the older areas. Some of the small farmers managed always to maintain themselves alongside the planters, but the pressure of large scale agriculture to get possession of the best lands sent the majority of them on to a new frontier or to outlying lands in the hills where they grew tobacco and cotton with their own labor and were one of the sources of supply of those staples in a world market. "The ebb of the frontier remained in the 'poor white'," is the way Rupert B. Vance² gives expression to the fact that as the frontier was pushed out by the oncoming plantation,

² Rupert B. Vance, *Human Geography of the South*, p. 75.

there remained a group who found it impossible to compete either by moving on to a new frontier or by maintaining a smallholding within the plantation area. They clung to the infertile land not usable by the planters and squatted upon lands worn out and abandoned after years of one crop cultivation.

IV

In the older areas a fairly uniform pattern of life developed as the frontier moved outward. Looking at the early part of the nineteenth century, this pattern in its general outlines was definitely "southern." The Old South had become a distinct entity politically, socially, economically, with all these various phases of life interacting the one with the other in both cause and effect relationships. The economic base for the pattern was agriculture of a special type in which certain staple products were grown for commercial purposes and sold in a world market. Competition in that market was for the most part dominated by growers of staples on a large scale, that is, the plantation owners using slave labor, usually called the "planters." These were numerically a weak class but economically strong, so that even though the small farmers, smallholders, or yeomen, far outnumbered them, the latter survived only by the ability to meet competition with the former. A part of the yeoman class met this competition by using their own labor and that of their families, but a considerable part of them owned a small number of slaves and held their own by the use of non-free labor. This non-free laboring force owned by the planters or the yeomen filled practically all the needs for laborers, both agricultural and otherwise, leaving little room or opportunity for wage labor.

Within the economic system then,

were planters, yeoman farmers, and Negro slaves. Outside the system was a group of poor whites having nothing to sell except their labor and the market for that was closed to them almost completely by the presence of the Negro slaves. The great preponderance of non-free labor prevented the establishment of a regular wage system which would have provided a mechanism for the entrance of the poor whites into the organized economic life. The handicap due to this lack was evident in crafts and industry. The white artisan and the white factory worker, in the few industrial establishments of the day, were subject to competition with the slave, with the latter usually the winner. As users of their labor, a well-established system of tenancy might have enabled some of them to climb the agricultural ladder to the small farmer class, but the usual tenant was a renter of the land of father or uncle or some close relative, other examples of tenancy being sporadic rather than customary. The system, therefore, left only the worn out lands, the sandhills, and pine barrens for the poor whites. On these they lived near the edge of subsistence by means of a primitive, unorganized, individual type of economy, hunting, fishing, raising meager "craps" and a few hogs to furnish a supply of salt pork and side-meat.

How large a group these poor whites formed is hard to determine. Certainly not as large as some of the travelers and commentators of the early period would have us believe. A. N. J. Den Hollander in his monograph traces the source of the belief that the group numbered millions of poor, hapless southerners to the "myth" developed by those early writers. He says that the public accepted statements of hastily made observations as true, and "came thus to conclusions that the authors themselves in many cases would

hardly have underwritten."³ This exaggerated conception of the size of the group can also be traced to writers of propaganda against slavery. As these represented the poor whites as being the direct outcome of slavery, the greater their number, the more heinous the institution which produced them would appear.⁴ Another source from which undoubtedly exaggerated figures emanated was the literature issued by participants in the "mill campaign" of the 40's and 50's.⁵ They wished the group to loom large as cheap labor ready-at-hand for a projected industrial development.

Accurate figures are however impossible to give because of lack of data and also because of lack of definition, a necessary prerequisite to the setting up of classificatory categories. Census reports of 1850 and 1860 give statistics of slave owners and non-slave owners. These figures cannot be used as data establishing the size of the poor white group, but they have contributed to the erroneous idea as to the number of poor whites by seeming to furnish a factual basis for their enumeration as non-slaveholders. Seemingly the nearest approach to accuracy may be reached by acceptance of a classification of the white population as planters, yeoman farmers and poor whites, with the latter group a rather small one, certainly in comparison with the group of yeoman farmers. The poor whites, while they formed one category in a classification of the general population, did not appear as a class in the organized economic life of the

time as the other classes did. A classification of the functioning groups in the economic system of the pre-war South would be planters, yeoman farmers, and Negro slaves.

Unlike the North where urban life developed early and formed the focal points of economic activities, the South remained rural with the few towns important enough to exercise noticeable influence being dominated by the large planters who lived there for a part of each year, and along with the English merchant firms controlled commercial business. The plantations were the focal points of economic life in the South to such an extent that a generalized description of the system centering around them fits the whole southern scene with possibly fewer exceptions to be pointed out than would be the case with generalizations in regard to any other section of the country. The southern system, then, was an agricultural one in which the points of vantage were held by the large units of cultivation, but there was a place in the system for the small unit, which numerically exceeded the large unit. The latter was carried on by the use of slave labor while the former utilized either slave labor or family labor. As the need for a laboring force was supplied by non-free labor, no customary wage system developed. A part of the white population did not possess any land which could be cultivated in a system of commercial agriculture and could not enter the system as wage earners. These poor whites were "outside" as they were neither planters, nor yeomen farmers, nor a part of the non-free laboring force. Outside the system, they lived meager lives supplying their wants as best they could by means of a primitive type of economic life, a hand-to-mouth process. Charles A. Beard says they "waged a spiritless battle for exist-

³ A. J. N. Den Hollander, *De landelijke arme Blanken in het Zuiden der Vereenigde Staten*, ch. 7 (Translation in manuscript form by Dora von Truckheim Ware).

⁴ For an example see H. R. Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South*, p. 120.

⁵ For an example see G. M. Weston, *The Poor Whites of the South*.

ence against poverty and hookworm"⁶ but those two devastating influences left them with too little hope to make possible a real battle.

Not infrequently has it been said that this economy of the Old South would have broken down through its own inherent weakness, in the main because it did not furnish adequate goods and services to a considerable part of the social group. But such speculation is useless in the face of the fact that its fate was sealed through compulsory disorganization. The primary revolutionary aspect of the economic disorganization was the change in the status of the labor supply. The repercussions from this were so great as to be felt among all classes and in all phases of southern life. Beard cites three parties to the transformation effected by the "agricultural revolution in the South"—slave owners, slaves, and freeholders.⁷ He mentions the poor whites as those hanging on the fringes of the last group, but has little to say directly as to their fate under the new order. However, Beard sees the Civil War as the "second American Revolution," and as "a social war, ending in the unquestioned establishment of a new power in the government, making vast changes in the arrangement of classes, in the accumulation and distribution of wealth, in the course of industrial development, and in the constitution inherited from the Fathers."⁸ Just here, the political and constitutional aspects of Beard's "revolution" do not concern us, but it is within its economic aspects that the fate of the poor whites must be examined.

⁶ C. A. and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, 260.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 258.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 54.

V

The end of the Civil War marked only the beginning of this economic revolution. The planters faced it with land and little else. Not only did they lack capital, but they were burdened with debt which left them in a weak position for raising funds for immediate use, and their "property" in slaves had been wiped out almost overnight. Large numbers of them sold their land, at prices which they would have laughed to scorn in former days, and moved into the towns and went into business or industrial pursuits, or they went West and sought new fortunes in new surroundings. Not all of them left their old land, however. Many of them clung to it and, together with the new land owners, tried at first to use ex-slaves as wage labor. As this was not satisfactory, largely because of the old patterns of behavior which held over both for the ex-masters and the ex-slaves, the effort was made to get white labor by immigration. Curiously enough, from one standpoint, the poor whites were not seen as a possible source of such needed labor. From another standpoint this was quite natural. They were not immediately underfoot, they did not stand in the good graces of the planters, and they themselves held the labor which slaves had performed as something beneath them.

As the possibility of establishing a wage system for agricultural labor proved a disappointing expectation, out of the exigencies of the situation and from the fragmentary experience of tenantry during the period of the plantation-slave economy, those planters who had managed to hold on to their lands, and those new owners who had gotten possession of lands which had been lost by their former owners began to cultivate by means of a tenant system. Both former large and small slaveholders divided their acres and

rented for cash, where cash was available, or for a share of the produce if this were lacking. And for the most part it was lacking both among the owners of land and among those who wanted land to cultivate, so various arrangements as to payment by means of a part of the crop, when it should be gathered, grew up empirically. This new tenant class was drawn from all the classes of the old economy—planters, yeomen, and slaves—as well as from that group which had been on the outside of that economy—the poor whites. Without capital before the "agricultural revolution," they had had no way of competing in a commercial type of agriculture in which staple crops were grown and sold in a large market. The tenant system as a customary arrangement furnished a means by which the poor whites, without land and without capital, might enter and be a recognized part of the established economy of the time. Commercial agriculture based on a stable crop survived the "revolution," and the large and small producer alike continued to sell in a world market under competitive conditions. This competition in the old economy had been one of the factors in the total situation which had kept the poor whites "outside." In the new economy, as tenants they had a recognized relationship with the landlord, and through this relationship they found access to the markets, thereby managing to keep going and sometimes to get ahead. Whatever the fate of the individual tenant, the system meant one way open to the poor whites to become an integral part of the economy of the South.

The years following Beard's "second American Revolution" brought not only changes in agriculture, but such rapid and extensive growth of manufactures as to be called by some the "industrial revolution of the South." There had been industrial

enterprises in the South before the Civil War and some of the poor whites had found their chance by earning wages in them, but for the most part their employment was more in the speeches, articles, and pamphlets of their vociferous advocates than in actual fact. In the industrial expansion after the War, the poor whites figured as one of the motivating forces. A cheap labor supply ready at hand had its influence on the movement of industry from other sections into the South, and upon the investment of new capital by persons both from within and without the region. Through the open door of industry a steady stream of poor whites went to supply hands to tend an ever increasing number of machines. They moved into the mill villages from mountain nooks and crannies as well as from the nearby countryside, and drew wages, pitifully small it is true, but regularly to be counted upon each pay day, and accepted in exchange for desirable goods at the company store and elsewhere. The wage system of industry offered another way by which the poor whites might become an integral part of the economy of the South.

Two pictures have now been given of the poor whites as entering the organized economic life of the South as it took form after the chaotic days following the Civil War—one, their entrance into it as tenant farmers, and the other, their entrance as wage-earners in industry. This does not, of course, establish the fact of an accompanying change from economic insufficiency to economic well-being. Whether or not such a change took place is aside from the point under discussion at present. Two things, however, show up in the analysis—first, that within the older economy there was no place for the poor whites, and that therefore they were a group left outside; and second, that the

new economy through the tenant system and industry, as representing the wage system, provided places for them within the system.

This brief survey of the historical background and development of the economic life of the South prior to the Civil War, and of its disorganization and reconstruction in a different form after the War has been given as a setting for the story of the poor whites, and the thread of that story has been traced from pioneer days into the present. From that story it seems possible to outline a socio-economic definition of the poor whites, giving in more broadly generalized terms the theory which has been developed as a part of the story itself. As a setting for such a definitive theory certain accepted economic and sociological ideas and concepts need to be reviewed.

VI

From no less an economist than Alfred Marshall, who defined economics as being on its "more important side, a part of the study of man," we get a clear-cut analysis of the rôle of social organization. He says: "Writers on social science from the time of Plato downwards have delighted to dwell on the increased efficiency which labor derives from organization. . . . After insisting on the advantages of division of labor, and pointing out how they render it possible for increased numbers to live in comfort on a limited territory, he (Adam Smith) argued that the pressure of population on the means of subsistence tends to weed out those races who through want of organization or for any other cause are unable to turn to the best account the advantages of the place in which they live."⁹ Thomas and Znaniecki defined social organization in terms of "socially

approved 'schemes' of joint or coöperative action, by which collective ends are pursued."¹⁰ Through social organization men effect more adequate adjustment to environmental conditions by means of diversification and specialization of functions and their integration and direction toward the realization of basic individual and social needs. "Social institutions are the relatively abstract but determinate social forms through which these vital ends are attained,"¹¹ and "the need of providing for the acquisition or production and distribution of food and other necessary things and services . . . is functionally met by the great complex of economic institutions."¹² By means of these, the satisfaction of these basic needs for food, clothing, and shelter is effected more surely and more abundantly for members of the social group, who in the division of labor as members of subgroups carry on various socio-economic functions.

In primitive stages of development of any society, economic mores guide and control activities in that sphere of life. As the activities and relationships of the group increase in number and variety, wants and needs grow apace. Group experience brings about social means of satisfying these. Social organization increases in complexity with the increase in individual and social wants and needs. Institutional arrangements within the social organization set up approved channels through which members of the group function to the end of satisfying individual and social needs. These institutions form an interrelated whole and each is highly specialized, perhaps none more so than the economic institutions. Through these

⁹ F. N. House, *The Range of Social Theory*, pp. 332-333.

¹¹ J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions*, p. 24.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁹ Alfred Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, 8th ed., p. 240.

last a more adequate flow of goods and services is attained for the social group, and thereby for individuals who function within their framework by means of social division of labor.

With increase of population and the consequent increased severity of the competitive struggle, if individuals or classes are thereby prevented from finding a place in the division of labor, the struggle for existence must be carried on by means of the establishment of a parasitic relationship with the social group; or by means of a primitive type of individual, unorganized economic activity outside the framework of the complex of economic institutions within the social organization. Illustrating the first alternative, there have been in most societies "the poor," those who were looked upon by the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages as provided by a beneficent God to the rich as a means by which the latter might grow in grace through the sweet charity of alms-giving. England's Poor Laws give ample evidence of her experience with the needs of such disadvantaged folk, while the histories of most Protestant churches in America would show collections for the poor taken with planned regularity. This poor is found within the social organization of all groups, and is the object of investigations such as Charles Booth's *Life and Labor of the People of London*. It is this type that Georg Simmel has characterized as one of the *inner enemies* of society.¹³ The second alternative may be found where in a region certain peculiar circumstances have reacted upon a fairly large element in the population in like manner, and have developed a situation of *social isolation* through the setting up of a social barrier to participation in the organized economic life of the group. Those so isolated have open to them as a

means of survival only that type of economic life which is characterized by primitive, individual pursuit of food, clothing, and shelter. The history of the South with its poor whites illustrates this.

The development of the pre-war South shows a frontier society, or more exactly a series of frontier societies, in which the process of adjustment, the interplay of "Place-Work-Folk," resulted in a definitely southern type of social organization with its folkways, mores, and institutions, varying somewhat in different localities, but having sufficient likeness to be a cultural unity. The economic aspect of this development shows how out of the competitive struggle, seen in clear-cut outlines on the frontier, the social organization of economic life developed as a system of division of labor which in its general outlines took the form of a functional interrelationship of class groups. The planters, the yeoman farmers, and the Negro slaves functioned within the framework of the economic organization, and, with certain minor sub-groups, such as merchants, overseers, and artisans, carried on the activities of the economy of the South through this division of labor. Eliminated in the competitive struggle and left outside with no functional rôle to play was another class, the poor whites.

This outside class occasionally, it is true, functioned within this division of labor doing odd jobs for wages, or as share croppers on the lands of the planters. But these examples illustrate only sporadic participation and do not indicate any customary rôle played by the poor whites in coöperation with the three functional groups. They lived on the subsistence level by individual, primitive, economic activities—hunting, herding, fishing, and planting patches of corn, cabbages, or turnips. Their pattern of life was that of the frontier which remained as the only

¹³ Georg Simmel, *Soziologie*, p. 686.

available one for those whom the organization of the developed economy left in *social isolation*. Therefore, through lack of a chance to participate in the division of labor, they had no way of securing for themselves a share of the goods and services which the system made possible.

When the pattern of a culture becomes discernible in any complex society, theorists arise to explain and give sanction to it. And so it was in the South. Slavery, of course, was the center around which these theorists built their social analyses, as this was the most visible aspect of the system and the most "peculiar." But such apologists as George Fitzhugh, in his *Sociology for the South, or the Failure of Free Society*, by setting up a theory for the existing organization of society, helped to strengthen the barriers between the poor whites and participation. They became in theory as well as in fact "outside."

On the "outside" and without participation in the institutional life of the group, the influences which developed and molded them created "poor white" characteristics quite different from those of the "inside" groups. They became set aside not only on a basis of standard of living, but also as having certain traits by which they were defined. The next step was for the existence of the class to be explained as the outgrowth of these characteristics. In other words, there grew up the belief that poor white nature was the explanation for the situation of the class, instead of what is more likely, that the explanation for poor white nature was to be found in the situation. This conception of the poor whites as determined by inherent characteristics found only too ready acceptance, as it strengthened the justification of the system presented by the theorists.

Theory in the South, however, was

opposed by theory in the North, and when the clash along many social and economic fronts came to its crisis, both northern fact and northern theory survived the struggle to enter into the reshaping of the fact and theory of the reconstructed South. The emancipation of the Negro marked the substitution of a free-labor system for one based on non-free labor. Necessarily readjustments in fact and theory began immediately. Establishment of new institutions is not effected over-night, and the psychological accompaniments of them are of even slower growth. However, a free-labor economy in the South meant, theoretically at least, the disappearance of the barriers which had kept the poor whites from sharing in the division of labor. No immediate change came in the situation, both because actual readjustment of physical and human units in production does not take place quickly, and because the free labor theory with its idea of opportunity for all had been thrust upon an aristocratic South by a democratic North. Time was needed for a home-grown theory to develop out of a situation which had become a fact. Given that time, the South could have its white tenant farms, its mill villages, and its Populist Movement.

Slowly but surely, then, the poor whites entered the new economy and shared in the division of labor, particularly as tenant farmers and mill workers. The point under discussion just now is not one of their increased welfare, but is one of participation as an integral part of the social organization, of having a functional rôle or rôles within the division of labor, theoretically recognized. Those who do not participate at present, those for example whom we would classify as submarginal, are not sharing, or are inadequately sharing, in the division of labor for other

reasons than that the system theoretically has no rôle for them, as was the situation in the economy of the Old South.

Given time, the South changed in fact and theory. By the early decades of the twentieth century the new pattern was clearly outlined. Not all the poor whites had become either tenants or mill workers. Nor had all tenants and mill workers been drawn from that group. The changed pattern in the South broke down the planter, yeoman farmer, poor white class lines of the pre-war South, and new groups emerged in the new economy. Of these old groups of the pre-war South, one had had something of the earmarks of a caste, with no basis for it in race or skin-color. "Once a poor white, always a poor white" was true enough to carry at least implications of caste status, and this seeming fixity led to an amazingly widespread assumption that here was a special "breed" of southerner, with biologically determined characteristics. As the new economic classes—upper, middle, and lower—have taken form as the basis for groupings in place of planters, yeoman farmers, and poor whites of the earlier economy, this assumption has colored the analysis of the submarginality of an unknown proportion of the present day population of the South.

These whites who are poor today are no longer, as the pre-war poor whites, theoretically without a rôle to play in the new economy of the South. This theoretical entrance into an economic system, however, does not guarantee well-being. Indeed, the means by which this entrance is most often effected by those in the lower economic brackets of the South today forms one of the major economic problems of the region. The fact that tenancy among the white farmers of the South is increasing is one of the paramount factors in the current concern over the

dilemma of southern agriculture. This is one of the regional differences showing up in the fact that the possibility of climbing the agricultural ladder seems more certain for those living outside the South than for those in the South. But the problem is envisaged as a phase of the problem of tenancy in the national economy as it is manifested in one region, the underlying factors being seen in such things as changes in foreign markets, production areas, and international financial relations. In this analysis, certain peculiarly southern conditions such as soil erosion, high population increase, ruinous credit system, or absentee landlordism are recognized as regional conditioning factors, the peculiarly southern factors analogous to those which must be taken into account in the study of a problem or problems in any region. Rupert B. Vance gives vivid expression to this regional concept. He says:

In surveying the problem of our tenants on the land we have glanced from Texas to Iowa, to the Deep South, and yet all the while we realize that here is a national problem to be tackled nationally or not at all. This is especially true for the South where the future of cotton production hinges on our national policy toward tariff, currency, and our diminishing foreign markets. If lost markets should cause the plantation to release one by one its last lingering cropper families, relief or tenancy reform will become a burning national issue almost overnight.¹⁴

This is but a specific way of stating what is at the heart of the theory of regionalism presented by Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore as magnifying "the meaning of the local group in relation to the whole."¹⁵

The pre-war South with its "different" type of economic organization was an example of economic and cultural as well

¹⁴ R. B. Vance, *Farmers without Land*, p. 23.

¹⁵ Howard W. Odum and Harry Estill Moore, *American Regionalism*, p. 3.

as political sectionalism. In it was a group with certain of the characteristics of a caste—the poor whites—which was to be accounted for in terms of a sectional situation. The whites on the lower rungs of the economic ladder are today from time to time called "poor whites," but the term as currently used has a tang of self-conscious artificiality, derived from the fact that it has been carried over more or less deliberately from its earlier application. For the most part the terms used are objectively descriptive ones, corresponding to those used to designate similar groups in other regions, such as "lower-class whites," "the under-privileged," "low standard of living groups," or "those in the lower economic brackets." Groups so designated in the South are regionally conditioned to the extent of recognizable "differentness," which, as already pointed out, is often assumed to be due to the fact that these Southerners are a peculiar "breed," but present-day population mobility is testing the inherent quality of the "differentness." For example, the migration of southern whites into Michigan for jobs in the automobile industry has given a situation which bears some of the earmarks of a controlled experiment illustrating such a test.

E. D. Beynon reporting on a survey of southern white workers in the automobile industries in Flint, Michigan, says that "the people with whom they came into contact distinguished between themselves and all southern white laborers and tend to treat them as members of a single homogeneous group. Without regard to region of origin, the southern white laborers are assumed to have common characteristics which mark them off almost as clearly as if they were foreigners." They form "a population element" set apart not simply by the region of their origin, but also by social and economic status. For the most

part, being unskilled and unaccustomed to industrial activity, they fill the lower paid jobs. This of itself sets them apart as a group, and is emphasized by the fact that they find themselves in "new situations for which they have no cultural definition; therefore their behavior has been determined largely by attitudes defined by life in rural southern regions." Beynon concludes from his study that under new environmental conditions in this particular area that, "an increasing degree of assimilation of the southern white laborers into the laboring class of northern cities is apparent. The migrant generation itself does not, indeed, succeed in raising itself very appreciably from the low industrial level of its entrance. On the other hand, the distribution of residence is wide; this fosters intermarriage, as has been indicated, with the northern whites; the northern public grammar and secondary schools are meanwhile exercising a potent influence; and it seems likely that the social problems of the southern white migrant laborers in Michigan cities will in a short time be indistinguishable from those of the northern white laboring class in general."¹⁸ This would seem to minimize inherent differences as to quality of population in the various regions, and to give evidence pointing to the basic similarity of the factors involved in the problem of low income groups wherever they may be found.

The definitive theory of the poor whites of the South as presented here would seem to have definite implications for the situation faced by the American people today. According to President Roosevelt's statement of July 6, 1938, the economic unbalance in the South and in the Nation are so closely interrelated that

¹⁸ E. D. Beynon, "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Michigan." *American Sociological Review*, III, 333-43, June, 1938.

they cannot be separated, the one being just as truly a national problem as the other. This was only giving more dramatic publicity to what Howard W. Odum had already emphasized in *Southern Regions of the United States*,¹⁷ and to the "assumption underlying a decade of special southern regional study begun at Chapel Hill in the early 1920's."¹⁸ The poor whites of the earlier period were a sectional phenomenon due to a peculiar sectional organization of economic life, and have disappeared with the situation which was responsible for them. The disappearance of the poor whites does not mean, however, the disappearance of economically depressed groups. These groups in the

South today are regional manifestations of similar groups found in all other regions, differing in one respect or another because of varying types of regional conditioning. The depression has served to intensify the problems offered by these groups and to focus attention upon them. This has led to tremendous impetus being given to fact finding investigation and to concentration upon planning for amelioration. If the depressed groups as they appear in the South are regional manifestations of national phenomena, instead of sectional phenomena as were the poor whites, then the developing science of the region offers both an effective tool for investigation and a technique for planning next steps toward both a more abundant life for the southern regions and more adequate participation in that life for all classes.

¹⁷ Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, pp. 213-215.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

TAKING STOCK OF RURAL YOUTH*

BRUCE L. MELVIN AND ELNA N. SMITH

Works Progress Administration

FROM one-fifth to one-fourth of all youth in rural areas between the ages of 16 and 24 inclusive have had to be helped by some Federal agency at one time or another since the initiation of the emergency programs in 1933. They have been members of rural households that have been on relief. Some of their families have been assisted through the rural rehabilitation and resettlement programs. Some of the youth have been aided by the National Youth Administration and more than 1,000,000 rural youth

have been in the camps of the Civilian Conservation Corps during the 5 years of its existence.

These facts reveal the extreme seriousness of the plight in which rural youth have found themselves during the last few years. The immediate factor that threw large numbers of youth into a position where they were forced to appeal for aid, either individually or as members of destitute families, obviously was the depression, but the hardships of the recent years were due as much or more to the crystallization of long-time trends as to the crisis itself.

Rural youth comprise not only young people on farms but also nonfarm youth—those living on the outskirts of cities or in

* Certain points in this paper are given fuller treatment in a forthcoming monograph, *Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects*, being published by the Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration.

incorporated places having not more than 2,500 inhabitants. The nonfarm youth may also reside in unincorporated areas such as mining camps and textile centers of varying sizes, in small unincorporated hamlets or in the open country but not on farms.¹ Conditions among some of the nonfarm families, especially those in stranded mining villages, have been particularly distressing for a number of years.

The problem has not been one of relief alone but also of enforced idleness among those above the relief level. Masses of youth—urban as well as rural—were forced to remain idle and to live off someone else. This situation appeared early in the depression and has not yet disappeared although some improvements were apparent prior to the slump occurring in the fall of 1937. The problem of unemployment is particularly pressing among those youth who would like to go to school but cannot or those who have graduated or have discontinued school and can never expect to return. In 1935 probably between seven and a half and eight million rural youth were in this out-of-school group and the chances are that the group is no smaller today. For while the opportunities for employment may be slightly better than they were between 1933 and 1935 the number of youth has steadily increased.

THE FLIGHT OF YOUTH

Present conditions hold only limited prospects for a large group of rural young people. Some of them are living in families on the relief level and are dependent on work projects and other public aid. Others are in families who live in poverty but who are not or have not been assisted

by any relief or works program, and still others are above the relief level but their situation is such that opportunities ahead for them are not at all promising.

The peak in the number of youth, persons 16 to 24 years of age, in rural relief families was 1,370,000 in February 1935.² While the official number of youth in relief families declined rapidly from February until October of that year it did not represent any material decrease in the number of rural youth dependent or semi-dependent on the Federal Government. During these months the Civilian Conservation Corps more than doubled its enrollment, the number rising from 241,810 on March 31 to 505,782 on August 31, 1935. It may be safely assumed that at least 130,000 of the increase were youth who went from rural territory.³ Likewise, by October of that year the Resettlement Administration had granted loans to thousands of rehabilitation clients.⁴ Thousands of youth were in these families. Moreover, by that time, the Works Program was beginning to take some families from relief rolls. But the economic situation of the youth dependent on the heads of these families did not change greatly because some member of the family secured such assistance. Some youth were, to be sure, absorbed in agricultural labor and thereby actually taken off the relief rolls, but this is explainable in terms of the increase in farm income which in 1935 rose 15 percent over that of 1934, and did not materially change the total youth situation.

Figures concerning the number of youth on relief fall short of presenting the total picture because just above the relief level

¹ The census defines a farm as being 3 acres of land farmed by one or more persons or any tract of land of less than 3 acres if its agricultural products are valued at \$250 or more.

² Bruce L. Melvin, *Rural Youth on Relief*, Monograph XI, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, 1937, p. 10.

³ Bruce L. Melvin, *ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴ First Annual Report, Resettlement Administration, Washington, D. C., 1936, pp. 9-18.

is a large contingent of youth whose outlook may actually be almost as restricted as that of relief youth. Probably a good many of the young men in this category in rural territory were included among the 145,000 who applied for enrollment in the C.C.C. camps in January 1938 when only about 25,000 could be admitted. More than 225,000 applications were expected for the 59,000⁵ places available in camps throughout the country in April. Undoubtedly the business recession has contributed significantly to swelling the number of applicants. The number of youth seeking admission into the C.C.C. camps has increased enormously since the requirements for enrollment have been liberalized to include youth who are in need of work but who are not in relief families, though the bulk of the enrollment in the corps continued to come from relief families.⁶

The increase in the number of unpaid family workers on farms from 1930 to 1935 further tells the story. The number of unpaid family workers of both sexes, ten years of age and over, on farms on April 1, 1930, was 1,660,000 but this number had increased to approximately 3,690,000 by 1935, a gain of over 2,000,000, or more than 120 per cent in the 5 years. At the same time the number of paid farm laborers declined by over one-half million.⁷ A considerable proportion of this unpaid family labor on farms constituted

a "surplus" of farm youth. If the persons below 30 years of age made up the same percentage of all unpaid family labor listed in the Census for 1935 as they did in 1930, then more than 3,200,000 young people below 30 were working on farms as unpaid family labor on April 1, 1935. On the basis of this figure it may be estimated that more than 2,000,000 young people between the ages of 15 and 24 were working as unpaid farm laborers on American farms during that year.

All of this large aggregation of unpaid family labor is not needed on farms for production of agricultural products. Even in 1929 approximately 90 percent of the commercial agricultural products were raised by 50 percent of the farms.⁸ At that time also there were more than twice as many young men becoming 18 years of age each year than there were farms becoming available through death or retirement.⁹ Thus even in 1930 American agriculture had too many people on the farms. On this excess an additional surplus was built between 1930 and 1935. Limited studies show that even in good farming territory approximately 4 out of every 10 out-of-school farm youth have practically nothing to do on the farm except in the very busy season.¹⁰

⁵ O. E. Baker, *The Outlook for Rural Youth*, Extension Service Circular 223, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., September 1935, p. 13.

⁶ T. J. Wooster, "Replacement Rates in the Productive Ages," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1937, pp. 1-7.

⁷ Statement of Robert Fechner, Director, CCC, before the U. S. Senate Special Committee to Investigate Unemployment, March 15, 1938, p. 1178.

⁸ Bruce L. Melvin and Elna N. Smith, *Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects*, Monograph XV, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, 1938, chapter VI.

⁹ The number of unpaid family workers has been estimated for April 1, 1935 instead of using the figure (4,273,000) given by the Agricultural Census for January 1, 1935 in order to make the figure for April 1, 1935 comparable with the decennial census which was taken April 1, 1930, a high point in the number of persons employed at agricultural labor.

¹⁰ Barnard D. Joy, *The Problems and Interests Expressed by Rural Youth*, address delivered at the conference of State Leaders, Older Rural Youth, Division of Cooperative Extension, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., November 14-17, 1937. See also Barnard D. Joy and T. B. Manny, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People 16-25 Years of Age, Survey of Five Maryland Counties, 1936*, Extension Service Circular 269, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., August 1937, pp. 14-17; Barnard D. Joy and D. P. Murray, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People 16-25 Years of Age—Utah*,

Areas of the worst poverty are fairly well marked. These include what have been designated as the six rural problem areas. In the early days of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration the counties constituting these particular areas were marked by exceedingly high relief loads. These areas are, The Appalachian-Ozarks, Lake States Cut-Over, The Spring Wheat Area, Winter Wheat Area, Western Cotton Area, and Eastern Cotton Area. They included approximately one-half of the rural families receiving relief in 1934.¹¹ In 1935 the same areas probably contained about the same proportion—i.e., about one-half—of the total number of rural youth in relief families. The number of youth in the problem areas probably has increased considerably since the beginning of the depression of the early thirties by reason of the fact that there have been so many children coming into the youth age during these last years since these are also, on the whole, the areas of high birthrates.

Increase in the number of youth has not been confined to farm youth alone; there is a substantial segment of rural-nonfarm youth population which has also been increasing. It appears probable that the number of youth in rural industrial areas has been increasing and that these rural-nonfarm young people have even fewer opportunities to secure work than have

the farm youth. This undoubtedly has been the case among the mining and timber areas of the Cut-Over Regions and in the coal mining section of the Appalachian Mountains.

Hence, the problem of providing opportunity for employment which offers reasonable assurance of ultimate economic security to a considerable proportion of rural young people is a problem of some magnitude. Nor is it limited to youth in relief families. Probably a much larger number of youth are to be found in the great mass of families that are on the borderline of relief or just above, who under present conditions will never be able to look forward to an adequate standard of living or to take advantage of many of the amenities of life made possible by advanced technology.

CAUSAL FACTORS¹²

The causes basic to the youth situation are many. They include: (1) the increase in the number of youth; (2) the checking of the farm to city migration due to the decreased demand for workers in the cities; (3) depletion of natural resources, especially in the problem areas; and (4) the increasing mechanization of agriculture.

In 1935 there were approximately 660,000 more young people between the ages of 16 and 24 in the United States than in 1930,¹³ but during this 5-year period the number of urban youth probably decreased almost 500,000 while the number of farm youth increased almost 1,000,000 and all rural youth increased by about 1,150,000. By 1935 there were, according to an estimate, 9,991,600 rural and 10,795,100 urban youth.

The crux of the youth problem is found in rural-urban migration. If the trends

Survey of Three Counties, 1936, Extension Service Circular 282, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., January 1938, pp. 17-19; and Barnard D. Joy and J. R. Beck, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People 16-25 Years of Age, Survey of Four Oregon Counties, 1936*, Extension Service Circular 277, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., December 1937, pp. 17-19.

¹¹ P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, *Six Rural Problem Areas, Relief—Resources—Rehabilitation*, Research Monograph I, Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., 1935, p. 1.

¹² For more detailed discussion of this subject, see Bruce L. Melvin and Elna N. Smith, *op. cit.*

¹³ 20,126,800 as against 20,786,700.

in the number of youth in urban and rural territory are examined on the basis of an assumption that no net cityward migration will have occurred between 1930 and 1940, the problem of rural youth in relation to city migration stands in clear perspective. By 1940 there will be almost 1,500,000 more youth in the United States than there were in 1930. Without the cityward migration there would be almost 600,000 fewer youth in urban territory by 1940 than there were in 1930, but almost 2,000,000 more youth in rural territory in 1940 than 10 years previously. Of course, the assumption involves some abstraction from reality since migration has been and is taking place. But on the basis of this assumption the decline in the number of youth in urban territory stands in sharp contrast to the increase in the number of youth in rural territory during this decade. Thus, if the cities are to absorb rural youth in sufficient numbers to relieve the surplus, they will have to take care of from three to four times their own hypothetical decline in youth population—that is, they would have to approach more nearly the absorbing power they manifested during the twenties.

The number of youth will continue to increase until about 1944, after which there will be a gradual decline for some years, provided there is no change in our immigration laws. However, even in 1950 the total number of persons in the youth age will still be larger than in 1930 when it was already becoming extremely difficult for youth to become established economically though the difficulty had not become as patent yet as it did during the succeeding years. Two fundamental questions therefore are: Where can these youth be absorbed? Can the cities use the excess rural youth?

All indications are that the cities cannot offer economic security to the excess youth

that would be remaining in rural territory¹⁴ if the youth population of the cities were to be the same in 1940 as in 1930. As a matter of fact, the cities may actually need fewer youth in the years to come as the number of persons above the youth age increase and compete with youth for the available employment.

The net migration to cities that characterized the rural-urban relationship between 1920 and 1930 was almost nil during the early days of the depression. Apparently only about 200,000 more farm youth went to the cities between 1930 and 1935 than returned to the farms whereas the comparable figure for the decade 1920-1930 was 2,000,000. Of course after 1933 there was a resumption of some migration to the cities which increased somewhat in succeeding years. If the migration had continued at the rate it appeared to be progressing during 1936 the number of youth on farms in 1940 would still be approximately 1,500,000 more than in 1930. It appears that the recession which began in the fall of 1937 has again checked the migration of farm youth to the cities.

That urban opportunities the country over were definitely limited during the depression was manifested by the excessive number of unemployed youth in destitute families in cities. The depression in reality may have marked the end of a long-time trend with the result that opportunities in the cities are permanently lessened. Even in the twenties when, theoretically, industry was prospering but farm prices were low the bulk of the migration was directed to relatively few cities. During the decade 1920 to 1930, four urban areas—New York's Metropolitan area, Chicago,

¹⁴ Carter Goodrich and Others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, Ch. VIII, "The Changing Demand for Man Power," Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936, pp. 393-500.

Detroit, and Los Angeles—received a net migration of almost 1,000,000 youth who were 15 to 24 years of age in 1920. While these and a few other cities were absorbing the young people from the country, others such as Youngstown and Pittsburgh, apparently had reached the zenith of their absorbing power by 1920 since the number of persons 25 to 34 years of age in these centers changed very little between 1920 and 1930.¹⁵ It seems logical to conclude that in the years just ahead the cities of America can provide openings for only about a number sufficient to keep their own youth population stationary.

Prospects for employment in rural areas is no more promising under present conditions. The depletion of soil fertility and the exhaustion of natural resources and disorganized agriculture especially in the six problem areas, indicates that an increasingly larger proportion of rural youth is destined to accept low standards of living unless constructive measures are taken to prevent their progressive impoverishment. In none of these areas are the resources adequate to support their present population on a decent standard. Today only about 17 percent of the Appalachian-Ozark highlands is in crop land much of which ought never to have been tilled, while 60 per cent of the area is in timber, largely second growth from which little income can be derived since lumbering there has almost ceased. Many coal mines have been worked out but the working population has been left stranded in the hills and continues to increase. In the Lake States Cut-Over region exploitation of both mineral resources and timber was followed by land booms and unwise land settlement with disastrous results in hard-

ship and poverty leaving many youth stranded on the land. In the South the sharecropper system, exorbitant interest charges, exhaustion of soils along with other factors have brought untold misery to a considerable proportion of the rural population.

Mechanization is also minimizing youth's opportunities for employment and for farm ownership in good land areas. In one county in Western Kansas a study made in 1933 showed that it required only 25 per cent as much labor to grow an acre of wheat at that time as in 1919.¹⁶ Other calculations indicate that in the United States as a whole it now requires less than one-half as much work to grow an acre of wheat as 25 years ago.¹⁷ Perhaps the most outstanding case of mechanization is that now in process in the corn belt, especially in husking corn. It has been estimated that in Iowa alone 6,000 corn husking machines last fall deprived from 15,000 to 20,000 persons of work during the husking season.¹⁸ All indications are that the mechanization of commercial agriculture is likely to increase rather than decrease.

IMPLICATIONS

The long time effects of a continuation of these trends are sure to have far reaching consequences to rural life and the entire Nation. Indications are that destitution

¹⁵ Martin R. Cooper, "Mechanization Reduces Labor in Growing Wheat," *The Agricultural Situation*, Vol. 21, No. 4, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C., p. 12.

¹⁷ David Weintraub and Irving Kaplan, *Summary of Findings to Date, March 1938*, National Research Project, Works Progress Administration, Philadelphia, Pa., March 1938, p. 93.

¹⁸ Data taken from a memorandum from Ray Murray, Administrative Assistant, WPA, to George J. Keller, State Administrator, Iowa WPA, on the effect of the mechanical corn picker and other modern machinery on farm employment, November 8, 1937.

¹⁶ Statement of Bruce L. Melvin before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, 75th Congress, 3d Session, on S. 1463 (American Youth Act), March 7, 1938, p. 25.

will be intensified in the localities now delineated as rural problem areas and spread to adjacent territory as the years move on. Marriage under poverty conditions means the propagation of more poverty. There seems to be little evidence that youth have postponed marriage during the depression in the poor land areas and rural industrial sections, whereas youth in cities and in the more prosperous farming territory appear to have delayed marriage somewhat during this period. Under present conditions, however, even good territory cannot escape the consequences of the growing mechanization of agricultural production and the "piling up" of young persons not needed to do the work on the farms and in the small towns.

Limitations on employment in the cities and towns during recent years despite encouraging upswings, as well as restrictions on opportunities for nonagricultural labor in rural territory have faced many rural young people with several almost equally unwelcome alternatives. They may stay in their parents' or relatives' home in virtual idleness or they may join the ever increasing contingent of irregular farm workers or casual laborers who are forced to work at low wages. If in desperation they do go to the city they will probably have to take dead end jobs at low pay subjecting themselves thereby to all the degrading effects of the unsavory living conditions that low income families are forced to accept in urban centers under present conditions. But more than that. Not only does this tremendous reserve of "damned up" youth in rural territory hold a potential threat of still greater human wastage if they throng the cities, but they constitute a potential threat to labor.

If young people leave their parents' homes in the Plains Drought area or in the Dust Bowl seeking to improve their condi-

tion by going to the Northwest the chances are that they will go unguided and will only find themselves one of the throng of unskilled transient agricultural laborers in the Northwest three-fourths of whom earn less than \$400 a year.¹⁹

There is a genuine need for more emphasis being placed on guiding promising young people to good land and giving them whatever assistance and guidance may be needed to establish them in a way that may be expected to yield them a reasonable standard of living. The emphasis in the past in the emergency programs has been primarily on *resettlement* and *rehabilitation* after mistakes had already been made and part of the productive life of the heads of the families has already been wasted. Furthermore, since opportunities in the cities are definitely limited more thought must be given to developing resources and opportunities in local communities in order that work and a wholesome community life may be available to young people at home thus sparing them the searing experience of a distressing search for urban employment where it does not exist, with all its accompanying pitfalls and heartaches.

One suggestion for a solution to the youth problem frequently heard today is that young people should be encouraged to stay in school longer. While additional training for many rural youth is certainly to be desired, especially if it is of a type that is practical and well adapted to modern life, it does not offer any real solution since it only postpones the day when they must compete with older youth and their elders on the labor market or to obtain a farm.

It is to be hoped that the recent report of the President's Advisory Committee on

¹⁹ Paul H. Landis, "Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the Yakima Valley," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 45, August 1937, pp. 3-10.

Education²⁰ will result in improving and equalizing educational opportunities in the rural areas. Such improvement will undoubtedly make possible the continued school attendance of thousands of young people who otherwise would drop out prematurely. But providing educational facilities is not enough. If education in America is to be democratic young people in the lowest income families must be enabled to take advantage of these facilities. Moreover, the problems of youth above the age of 16 or 18 is more than a school problem. Holding youth in school indefinitely may merely mean a lengthening of the period of economic dependence unless at some point in their schooling they are at the same time given the opportunity to assume responsibility and do constructive purposeful work. This must mean an opportunity for work experience under realistic conditions with real responsibility and tangible reward. The public school system as it is at present organized is not in a position to provide such realistic experience except on a very limited scale or to pay wages on part time jobs that have educational value.

While most young people—urban as well as rural—encounter some difficulties in making their economic adjustments or in obtaining adequate education and opportunity for satisfactory personal and

social development, those encountered since 1930 have been more acute than ever before. This does not mean that the majority have been on relief or that all have faced insurmountable handicaps in "getting a start," but it does mean that great numbers of young people have faced serious obstacles in making their transition into adult life. Moreover, without definite public policies directed toward equalizing opportunities for young people, America is facing the prospect of successive generations of youth, many of whom will be seriously maladjusted and some of whom will be idle or only partially occupied throughout their mature years.²¹

The future of American rural life, and to a large extent of urban life, rests on increased industrial production, a closer integration of industry and agriculture, and an expansion of the cultural and human services so badly needed in rural society. Rural youth as they approach the threshold of citizenship responsibility need not necessarily face contracting opportunities. It is the responsibility of a democratic society to see that these new citizens receive a fair share of the national income in order that they may become effective consumers as well as producers and thus contribute in just measure to the prosperity of both agriculture and industry.

²⁰ *Report of the Committee, The Advisory Committee on Education*, Washington, D. C., February 1938.

²¹ See also, Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1938, pp. 47-48.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The American Sociological Society will hold its thirty-third annual meeting in Detroit, Michigan, December 28-30, 1938, with headquarters at the Book-Cadillac Hotel. Division and Section meetings will feature discussions of timely interest to sociologists and others. As usual there will be joint sessions with the American Statistical Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, Rural Sociological Society, and the American Farm Economic Association. Dr. Frank H. Hankins of Smith College will deliver his presidential address at the annual dinner of the Society on Thursday night, December 29.

Among the special breakfasts which have been arranged is that of the Southern Sociological Society on Thursday morning, December 29.

Meeting in Detroit at the same time will be: the American Economic Association, American Statistical Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, American Farm Economic Association, American Accounting Association, American Association of University Teachers of Insurance, American Business Law Association, American Marketing Association, Econometric Society, Institute of Mathematical Statistics, Tax Policy League, and other allied groups.

The *American Sociological Review*, official journal of the Society, carried the preliminary program in its October number. Final program and complete details can be secured from the secretary, Dr. Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh.

THE SCOPE OF A SOCIOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS¹

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AS LONG as political science has been established as a special branch of science, the study of international relations has been one of its main tasks. But the claim of political science to this subject matter is not an exclusive one. International relations are social relations because they are relations between nations, which are composed of human beings. Sociology as that science by which social relations are studied could, therefore, legitimately compete with political science in studying international relations.

¹ The author is indebted to Professors Robert C. Angell and Harlow J. Heneman of the University of Michigan for helpful criticism.

Bibliographical note: An excellent study of the contributions which have been made by sociologists to problems of an international character was made by L. L. and J. Bernard, *Sociology and the Study of International Relations*, St. Louis, 1934. International problems of a fundamental character are dealt with under consideration of sociological or related implications by H. D. Lasswell, *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*, New York and London, 1935; W. B. Pillsbury, *The Psychology of Nationality and Internationalism*, New York and London, 1919; J. S. Reeves, "La communauté internationale," *Académie de Droit International, Recueil des Cours* vol. III (1924 II), pp. 3-94; D. Schindler, "Contribution à l'étude des facteurs sociologiques et psychologiques du droit international," *Académie de Droit International, Recueil des Cours*, vol. XLVI (1933 III), pp. 233 ss.; P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, vol. III, New York etc., 1937 (Part two: "Fluctuation of War in Intergroup Relationships"); G. M. Stratton, *Social Psychology of International Conduct*, New York and London, 1929; Th. Veblen, *An Inquiry into the Nature of Peace and the Terms of its Perpetuation*, New York, 1917; Qu. Wright, *The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace*, London, New York, Toronto, 1935. Cf. also "Sociologie de la guerre et de la paix," *Annales de l'Institut International de Sociologie*, vol. XVI (1932). In German a fundamental contribution was made by

Now it always has been the policy of the sociologists, as the representatives of that branch of the social sciences which was established last, not to interfere with their older neighbor sciences and to confine themselves to a study of those problems to which the other social sciences have not devoted their attention.² This principle, however, should be maintained only in those cases where the means of the other social sciences suffice for studying all phases of their problems and when there is no probability that the sociological study of these problems would produce further results.

Max Huber, *Die soziologischen Grundlagen des Völkerrechts*, Berlin, 1928. Since preparation of this manuscript for publication two articles pertinent to this subject have appeared in the *American Sociological Review*, vol. III (1938): P. A. Sorokin, "A Neglected Factor of War" (pp. 475-486), Quincy Wright, "The Causation and Control of War" (pp. 461-474).

As L. L. and J. Bernard, *Op. cit.*, pp. 80 s., have rightly stated, the field of human ecology, as a branch of sociology, impinges very closely upon certain aspects of international relations; cf. R. D. McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of Human Community," *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXX (1924-1925), pp. 287-301, and particularly R. D. McKenzie, "The Concept of Dominance and World-Organization," *cod.*, vol. XXXIII (1927-1928), pp. 28-42.

The article by E. E. Eubank, "Sociological Factors in the Interpretation of International Relations," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, vol. XIX (1924), pp. 88-96, is mainly devoted to a study of political conditions on the Balkan. M. T. Price, "Sociological Clarification of International Relations," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. CXCII (July 1937), pp. 138-155, urges the use of "the latest scientific equipment for furthering our understanding of foreign peoples," which would be rather a comparative sociology than a sociology of international relations.

² L. L. and J. Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Political science does not meet this condition with respect to the study of international relations. The approach of political science to this field does not cover all possible approaches to it. Political science, in dealing with international problems, does not use a special method which is its own. It applies juridical methods insofar as legal questions are involved; studying political conditions, it confines itself to the application of a purely descriptive method.³

Sociology is able to use its own method in studying international relations. This method differs from the merely descriptive method of political science⁴ in two respects. First, the sociologist uses general categories under which the single phenomenon dealt with is subsumed, while for the political scientist every phenomenon is *unique*.⁵ He studies it as an unparalleled entity. For the sociologist, however, international relations are only a variety of inter-human contacts. Comparing the different varieties of inter-human contacts with one another, sociology will produce insight into the peculiarities of every kind of them, and thus also into the special features of international relations. The sociologist is able to study problems of

international organization and institutions, such as the League of Nations, under the larger aspect of "social organization," which certainly is illuminating for those problems with which the student of international conditions is faced. The function of the "Great Power" and the nature of "Prestige" in international relations can be studied in terms of sociological concepts, as "leadership," "dominance," and "social control." These examples may suffice to draw the conclusion that an analysis of problems and phenomena which are dealt with in the field of international relations is possible only by means of the sociological method.⁶ A clarification of these phenomena can be achieved only by using a general concept, the genus proximum, which permits the *classification* of the phenomenon, and by a comparison with similar phenomena, so that the *special features*, the *differentia specifica*, of the phenomenon in question can be found. Because of the social nature of international relations, the general concept under which an international phenomenon can be subsumed and those objects with which it can be compared belong to the proper field of sociology, so that the application of the sociological method to a study of international relations requires the use of the entire conceptual equipment of sociology.

³ Cf. Charles A. Beard, "Method in the Study of Political Science as an Aspect of Social Science," in *Essays on Research in the Social Sciences*, Washington (The Brookings Institution), 1931, pp. 60 ff. For a criticism of the method used by political science hitherto see G. E. G. Catlin, *The Science and Method of Politics*, New York, 1927, p. 144.

⁴ It should be remembered that this paper does not deal with the methods applied in all fields of political science, but only insofar as the study of international relations by political science is concerned. If a general statement with respect to the method of political science may be ventured, the author is inclined to think that the use of the comparative method by political science has a rather accidental and occasional character, whereas sociology, in its essence, is a comparative science.

⁵ Cf. W. Y. Elliot, "The Possibility of a Science of Politics," in *Methods in Social Science*, ed. by S. A. Rice, Chicago, 1931, p. 70.

⁶ This statement is not supposed to deny the qualification of political science for the study of international relations. The sociologist depends upon the material with which he is supplied by the political scientist. Cf. F. Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology*, New York, 1934, p. 128 ff. See also H. E. Barnes, "Some Contributions of Sociology to Modern Political Theory," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. XV (1921), p. 491.

C. E. Merriam who approaches marginal problems of the social sciences from the angle of political science declares: "I am not suggesting that we ask our older friends to go" (*New Aspects of Politics*, Chicago, Illinois, 1925, p. XIII). The present writer wishes to join Prof. Merriam in this statement for the angle of sociology.

The sociological method is distinguished by a second feature: Sociology studies *causes* and *effects* in the social sphere. It collects data on the working of social factors from which social laws can be deduced, indicating that certain factors under certain conditions generally produce certain effects, provided that the working of the factor in question is not impaired by the interference of opposing factors. Sociology, therefore, is not competent to predict future social developments, and it will never be able to do that because of the complexity of the social process. The social process, the life of society, is the result of the working of an infinite number of social factors, which produce their effects in mutual dependence upon one another, interfere with one another, and thus originate a unified agglomeration of societal processes, the tendencies of each of which deviate from those tendencies which they would have in isolation, owing to the diverting influences of the others. Furthermore, these social factors have themselves not merely a social basis, but they have, to a large extent, extrasocial sources of a physical or psychical character, not within the range of sociological calculation.

Because of these conditions, sociology differs from those sciences which are able to predict future events. Whenever a prediction is possible, the factors, the effects of which are predicted, must be known and must be limited in number. The scientist who predicts must be sure that no new factor which could interfere with the working of the already existing and known ones will occur. In those sciences, therefore, which deal with a limited number of factors, each of which can be studied in an uncombined form, prediction is possible. Prediction is not possible in a science, such as sociology, where the number of factors is unlimited, the intrusion of new, uninvestigated fac-

tors is not excluded, and the working of every factor is interwoven with that of the others.

But, although sociology can not predict future developments, it can indicate those factors which, under favorable conditions, are likely to have a decisive influence upon the future development of the social process. Sociology, on the basis of its analysis of the social process, the observation of the working of social factors, and a comparative study of social causes and effects, is able to conclude that certain factors always have the *tendency* to produce certain effects, although the materialization of this tendency depends upon conditions the presence or absence of which can not be foreseen. The knowledge of the tendency of certain factors to produce certain effects is the principal achievement of sociology as a theoretical science. But theoretical knowledge is not enough. The sociologist is not a scholar who is satisfied with being simply a scholar. It may not be valid for all branches of sociology, but for the realm of social pathology it can be claimed that the ultimate justification of theoretical knowledge is its practical application. Practical application of the theoretical achievements of sociology means social reform. The sociologist knows that certain social factors have the tendency to produce certain effects. Therefore, it is his task to investigate which factors can be used as the means for social therapy.⁷ Just as medical science studies the human body not from mere theoretical curiosity but in

⁷ The same idea underlies the statement by W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, New York, 1927, vol. I, p. 65 ff., that "it is theoretically possible to find what social influences should be applied to certain existing attitudes in order to produce certain new attitudes, and what attitudes should be developed with regard to certain already existing social values in order to make the individual or the group produce certain new social values."

order to apply the acquired knowledge in therapeutic treatment of the sick body, likewise the achievements of social theory should be applied in a social therapy.

If we conceive of social therapy as being one of the concerns of sociology, the study of international relations should be one of the most urgent and most fascinating tasks of sociology. For carrying through the parallel between sociology and medical science we can say that the international community is evidently in a state of serious illness. Peace and order are threatened. The need for reform in the international sphere is generally recognized. "Peaceful Change" and "The Reform of the League of Nations" are the topics by which discussions of international questions are dominated at the present time and which make it clear that in the common opinion peace can be maintained only by means of a change of structure of the international community itself.

Here we are faced with a problem which must be the ultimate topic of a sociology of international relations. The sociologist knows that peace in its very meaning is not a type of relationship between two individuals or two single nations, but that it is a state of affairs within a community. The fact that in ancient times there was no war between the Roman and the Chinese Empires does not justify calling this state "peace"; there was no political relation at all between them. They did not live in one community of nations. Real peace is a relation between nations which are parts of a larger community and is a function of the life process of the community. Therefore, there is a correlation between the chance to maintain peace and the extent to which the nations are involved in the community of which they are parts. Consequently, to intensify the international community means to increase the chance to preserve peace,

or, in other words, it means a more solid foundation of peace. Sociology as being interested in social therapy would, therefore, have to indicate those means by which an intensification of the international community might be attained.

Compared with smaller communities, such as the nations, the problem of an intensification of the international community meets with particular difficulties. There are no symbols; there is no flag and no hymn to make the unity of mankind evident; there is no leader who leads the nations as a unit. There are no heroes in the common history of men who remind them of their common past. When they play a rôle in the history of more than one nation, they are rather objects of strife and jealousy than factors of unity among nations.

Why these factors are lacking in the international community is probably more easily understood with regard to the symbols than in the other factors. A symbol refers to another object. An object can be symbolized only if those persons to whom it is symbolized are conscious of it. Otherwise, the symbol has no meaning to them, and the nature of a symbol is to have a meaning. Therefore, not every social entity can be symbolized because not every social entity is an object of the consciousness of its members. Some social aggregates are in such an undeveloped stage that their members are not conscious of their unity. They have not a "We"-feeling. The international community at the present time is in this primitive stage. Its members are not connected by the feeling of belonging together. They are not aware of the unity which exists among them. Therefore, this unity can not be represented by symbols.

Also the lack of leadership among nations and of the stimulus proceeding

from historical characters is conditioned by the imperfect state of the international community. What a hero or a leader is can not be explained by his technical functions, i.e., by a mere reference to his outstanding personal achievements. From this standpoint we cannot understand why a hero as a historical figure is not endowed with stable characteristics. One cannot understand why his appearance and his quality as a hero change together with the group whose hero he is.⁸ And the mere technical explanation cannot make it clear why the institutional head functions as a leader of the community simply on account of his being invested with his office and because of the exercise of his institutional powers. In both cases, with the hero as well as the leader, personal achievements are only a condition of the acquisition of these qualities. In their very nature they are symbols, either being personifications of the community in which they function or symbolizing the fundamental idea by which the unity of a group is constituted. They are drawn into the social process by which the conception of the community or of its dominant idea is permanently projected upon them, so that they are able to function as reflections, that is, as symbols, of the community or of its idea. By their symbolic function they make the unity of the community evident and contribute in this way to the strengthening of this unity. Here again the capacity to function as symbols depends upon the members of the community being conscious of the symbolized unity; a symbol can make evident only something which is known. Therefore, the functioning of leaders and heroes in the international community will be possible only when its members will be united by a "We"-feeling. It may be that then

heroes and martyrs of international ideas will revive, be honored, and will exercise an integrating influence upon the international community—heroes and martyrs who, at the present time, are entirely unknown and play no rôle in the memory of mankind because the international community which these figures could symbolize is not embraced in the conscienceness of men.

The degree to which a community produces a consciousness of itself is an indication of its intensity. The lack of any symbolizing factors in the international community can be reduced to the lack of a "We"-feeling within the international community, and this absence of self-consciousness can be reduced to the low intensity of the social entity. Therefore, we must ask by what factors is the intensity of the international community impaired.

It seems that the weakness of the international community can be ascribed mainly to its universality. During the last stage of its development the international community was extended to a universal entity. While in earlier times it comprehended a relatively small number of culturally homogeneous nations, now nations with different cultures, of different racial origins, with different political systems and values, and with different standards belong to it. All these differences are impediments to anything more than a superficial social unity of universal character. Furthermore, a universal social entity necessarily lacks the most powerful integrating factor which is known to sociology, namely, outside opposition. It is an often-repeated observation that in the moment when a nation has to struggle with outside enemies all internal quarrels vanish, and the whole nation is welded into a unit as never before. And how decisive for the unity

⁸ Cf. Charles H. Cooley, *Social Process*, New York, 1927, p. 116.

of Christendom was the influence of the common struggle of the Christian nations against the Turks!

Such a stimulus cannot be present in a social entity which includes all nations. A universal social entity necessarily lacks an outside world, since it comprehends all social forces in itself. There is no group outside of it against which it might struggle. Consequently, through this very quality of universality the international community is deprived of the unifying effect which originates from a struggle against common enemies.

From a therapeutic point of view this problem arises: How can this missing factor be replaced? In order to meet this question two types of suggestion have been made. Some writers assume that the function of outside struggle will be transferred to internal struggles within the international community.⁹ According to them the international community will have to struggle against enemies within itself, and this struggle will then create unity among its other elements. This argument cannot be accepted. It is certainly true that under the present conditions struggle within the international community is not excluded, and that stage of development when aggression of one nation against another will be met by common action of all other nations may not be far. Moreover, it can be admitted that this common action is likely to serve as a factor to unite those nations which participate in it. But it must not be overlooked that the problem is how to weld together more securely the heterogeneous units of the international community to that stage when struggles with internal enemies are entirely out of the question or at least play such an excep-

tional rôle that they cannot function as institutional factors of the international community. To assume, therefore, that the ultimate unity of the international community could rely upon internal struggles is no solution of, and even contradictory to, the question of how to secure peace and order in the international community.

Furthermore, from the point of view that the goal of theory is practical application, the theory that the struggle against an internal enemy leads to unity has dangerous implications. It might happen that a group of persons who have the ambition to strive for leadership in the international community would try to make use of this principle as a means of obtaining their political aims. There is the danger that such a group, in order to make the world ready for leadership and to secure the rôle of the leader for themselves, would artificially create the figure of a "born enemy of mankind" and force this rôle upon another group among the nations. The idea would be to unite all nations through the feeling of being threatened by a common enemy together with the common hatred created against this imaginary enemy. The rôle of the leader in an international community based upon this artificial antagonism would devolve automatically upon the authors of this plan. This sociological experiment has been successfully performed on a national basis; so the time may not be distant when the attempt will be made to repeat it on an international basis.

There are some writers who believe that the struggle against outside groups as an integrating force can be replaced by the common opposition of mankind against non-human hostile factors. Will the human race be sufficiently impressed with the horrors of war under modern

⁹ C. H. Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 266. G. Schwarzenberger, *The League of Nations and World Order*, London, 1936, p. 178.

conditions to be united by opposition to that alone?¹⁰ Or may we succeed in organizing the animosities of mankind and uniting the world against pathogenic bacteria which extinguish more human lives every year than die of war?¹¹ Or is it likely that all nations will be rendered a unit by their common struggle against their inorganic environment?¹²

All these theories are based upon the assumption that when a group is unified by opposition to another group, it is the fact of being *opposed* to something, the common struggle as such, which is the factor of unity; and this leads to the conclusion that the object of the common struggle must not necessarily be a group of *human* beings, but that by the common opposition to any other dangerous entity or situation the same result can be achieved. It must not be overlooked, however, that the outside group performs a decisive function in the process of unification. By opposition to an outside group, a nation perceives with increased clarity all differences between itself and the other group—all peculiarities of the other group and itself by which they differ from one another. The opposition to the other group develops the consciousness of belonging to one's own group and of its value and dignity. The feeling of "The Others" is the basis on which the feeling of the "We" originates. Therefore, it is not the mere fact of a common struggle against common dangers, but it is the negation of the other group which renders the unity of one's own group evident. Consequently, the common fight of mankind against material forces or the common threat of the horrors of war or of our bacterial enemies will not furnish

an adequate basis for world unity. But does that permit the conclusion that the existence of an outside group is an indispensable condition of integration by opposition so that a universal social entity must of necessity want this important factor of unity?

When opposition to an outside group leads to the feeling of being different as a basis of a feeling of unity, we must remember that the feeling of being different is not mainly focused upon material, natural qualities of the groups involved or their members. That one group feels itself different from the other is due first of all to the existing or imagined social and ideological heterogeneity of the groups. The individuality of one's own group as well as that of the other appears to be based upon their peculiar social and political institutions and the fundamental ideas which, as they function in these institutions, determine the entire life of the group. Therefore, it is the *ideas* of the opposition which are the decisive factors in the unification of a group. The groups themselves function in this process merely as personifications of the antagonistic ideas.

It may be that this conclusion is of some significance for an investigation of the factors from which a feeling of unity within the universal international community may result. It can not result from antagonism to an outside group since the universal character of the international community excludes the possibility of group life outside of it. But, as opposition to groups is in its essence opposition to ideas, might it not be possible to unite the international community by opposition to ideas without these ideas having to be represented and personified by any groups? Will the international community ever attain consciousness of itself by opposition to those ideas which are contrary to its

¹⁰ Thus W. B. Pillsbury, *op. cit.*, p. 294 ff.

¹¹ H. D. Lasswell, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

¹² J. Novicow, *Les luttes entre sociétés humaines*, Paris, 1893, p. 574.

own basic principles? Will its members feel themselves united by maintaining freedom against oppression, justice against inequality, order against anarchy, social welfare against social misery, and international coöperation against rivalry and strife for hegemony, without associating the hostile idea with a certain group or nation? Now, there can be no doubt that the effect produced by abstract ideas is weak. Therefore, much depends upon whether by educational means, such as the spread of knowledge of history, these ideas can be illustrated and be made manifest. This seems to be one problem upon which a sociology of international relations would have to focus its attention.

Another urgent problem arises from the fact that peace is not safe as long as it is maintained by a community which is established on an emotional basis only. The perpetuation of peace inheres only in an *organized* community and is dependent upon the efficiency of the community's organization. The perpetuation of peace cannot be secured as long as the members of the community do not recognize a power superior to them; it requires that the regulation and control of the relations among its members are concerns of the community itself, which exercises its powers through organs. That is what we understand by organization—that within a group certain competencies are taken from the individuals and are administered by a small number of group members who act as organs of the whole.¹³ Whether a person who functions as a group organ works efficiently depends upon whether he is endowed with authority. Therefore, one of the main problems of organization-planning is the sort of authority which is

most adequate to the activity of a certain group organ.

It is a peculiarity of the international community that the nations are the decisive factors which determine its structure. Therefore, the authority of individuals in international relations is to a large extent a reflex of the authority of the nation to which he belongs—a reflex of its prestige, to use an expression by which the authority of a nation in international affairs is usually designated. International prestige can be based upon different qualities of a nation. That form in which it is mostly known is prestige based upon the possession of power. A nation which is endowed with that type of prestige is what we call a "Great Power." Is the prestige of power a quality upon which an international organization can be based? From our historical experience we can conclude that the prestige of power is not sufficiently fundamental for the exercise of organic functions in the international community. The establishment of the League of Nations was an attempt to entrust the leading functions within the international community to those nations which were distinguished by the prestige of power. This attempt has turned out unsuccessfully because the prestige of power does not necessarily create the confidence of the other nations in the impartiality of its bearers. Such confidence seems to be an indispensable condition of the functioning of an organ of the international community.

We are usually inclined to think of the prestige of a nation as being based upon the possession of power; but a more intimate investigation of the nature of "prestige" shows that prestige may result also from other qualities of a nation. The following example may be illuminating: For many international commissions for the pacific settlement of international disputes, which have been established

¹³ P. A. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 18 ff., states rightly that organization means differentiation of functions. But he overlooks the fact that the functions are exercised on behalf of the whole.

during the first decade following the World War,¹⁴ umpires have been appointed jointly by the parties in addition to the representatives of each party. The number of these umpires totals 122. Of these 122 positions, more than one-half, namely 65, have been entrusted to nationals of Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, and Norway, so that these few small nations have a larger share than that of all other nations together, including the so-called "great powers." This surprising fact is not merely due to the outstanding qualifications of the persons who have been nominated, but it plainly shows that the nations to whom they belong are invested with a certain sort of prestige, which might be called "prestige of neutrality." "Neutrality," when used in this sense, does not only mean refraining from taking sides in time of war, but also in time of peace. It is a state of being neutral with respect to all international combinations or "axes," to political and economic competition and conflicts—a neutrality towards the whole complex of international alliances and antagonisms. This type of prestige is never based on a total lack of interest but on a lack of one-sided interest; and this has to be complemented by a positive interest in the accomplishment of general, supranational principles, such as justice and peace.

Subjects of those nations which are endowed with this type of prestige have been successfully entrusted with judicial functions in the international community. Therefore, the question arises whether a solution of the problem of international organization on the whole might not lie in the same direction. Sociology, extending its study of community organization to the field of international relations, should determine whether the prestige of neutrality could be made the basic princi-

ple of an international organization. What is necessary then is an investigation of the significance of the idea of entrusting not only judicial but also administrative and perhaps even legislative functions to the neutral nations or their subjects in any future international organization. Particularly, there must be an investigation of how to realize this idea in practice and of the results which may be expected from it.

Those problems which have been touched upon here were mainly concerned with the international community under the aspect of social therapy. From a systematic point of view, however, it should be stated that the therapeutic approach must be the last stage of a sociological treatment of international relations. Only on the basis of a thorough investigation of the nature of the international community and its peculiar features, the foundations upon which it is established, its elements and institutions, and of the peculiarity of the contacts within this community—only on the basis of an analysis of the present structure of the international community can definite suggestions for therapeutic measures be made. Not until these foundations have been laid can the sociology of international relations prove its scientific value.

At a time when sociology had not yet been established as a science, but the study of social problems was a matter of philosophy, the great German philosopher Kant wrote his treatise on *Perpetual Peace* in which he set up the following principle: "The opinions of philosophers concerning the prerequisites of public peace must be consulted by the nations armed for war." May the words of the philosopher become reality when the sociology of international relations will have reached a stage of development where it will be able to contribute to the solution of practical problems by which the statesman is confronted.

¹⁴ They are compiled by M. Habicht, *Post-War Treaties for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

SOME OCCUPATIONAL TRENDS IN THE SOUTH

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THE transition in the United States from a frontier economy based largely on extractive industry to an urban-industrial society has involved a striking change in the occupational distribution of gainful workers. These trends for the nation have been traced by many students with results consistently revealing the declining importance of agriculture and the increasing importance of manufacturing, distributive, and service pursuits in the occupational distribution of the nation's workers.¹ The interpretation of these changes reveals the rapid appearance of new areas of job opportunity which have arisen partly at the expense of older fields of employment, and the consequent increasing availability of essential services to the people of the nation.

An analysis of national trends alone, however, conceals in the average for the

nation the actual conditions of employment opportunity and the availability of services for broad, regional groupings of the population. A regional analysis, on the other hand, shows that the several regions² have participated to an unequal degree in these trends,³ with the two southern regions, particularly, remaining so predominantly extractive in occupational distribution that they lag behind the nation and all other regions in this respect. As a result of these varying trends, regional differences exist in the degree of expansion of new job opportunities on service and skilled levels, as well as in the availability of increasingly essential services.

The re-arrangement of census occupations into relatively homogeneous social-economic classes, as worked out by Alba M. Edwards,⁴ provides a convenient means of making comparisons between regions in basic occupational structure, that overcomes some of the inherent difficulties of using the census occupational-industrial classification. An examination of data on the distribution, by regions,⁵ of gainful

¹ See, for example, Ralph G. Hurlin and Meredith B. Givens, "Shifting Occupational Patterns," *Recent Social Trends*, Ch. VI; "Occupational Changes Since 1850," *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 37, (Nov., 1933) pp. 1017-1027; and P. K. Whelpton, "Occupational Groups in the United States, 1820-1920," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 21, (Sept., 1926) pp. 335-341. In the latter article, Whelpton has shown that in the hundred years covered by his study the number of workers engaged in Agriculture decreased from 71.88 percent of the total gainfully employed to only 26.1 percent, a decrease of about 40 percent. The proportion in Manufacturing was about two and a half times as high in 1920 as in 1820, while service occupations showed the most striking increase of all. From 1820 to 1920 there was almost a ten-fold increase in the relative importance of Trade and Transportation, and, while no significant change was noted in the percent engaged in Domestic and Personal Service, the proportion engaged in Professional Service had almost doubled by 1920, increasing from 2.81 percent of the total in 1820 to 5.05 percent in 1920.

² The region as used here conforms to the six-fold division of the United States as presented by Howard W. Odum in *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1936.

³ National Resources Committee, *Problems of a Changing Population*, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 43-46.

⁴ Alba M. Edwards, "Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 28, (Dec., 1933) pp. 377-387.

⁵ Regional figures here have been worked out from state data presented in National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics, 1. National Data*, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937, Table 26, pp. 68-74.

workers classified on the basis of Edwards' six social-economic groups, shows that in the United States in 1930, six percent of the gainfully employed population was classified as professional persons, performing those services which have come to be regarded as increasingly important in an urban-industrial society. As proprietors, managers, and officials, 19.9 percent of the employed population of the nation was counted. A little more than 16 percent were in clerical and kindred pursuits;

11.8 percent in the Northeast to 31.3 percent in the Northwest, with the two southern regions, which like the Northwest have a relatively large number of farmers, ranking high. In clerical pursuits, represented by the group clerks and kindred workers, the two southern regions with 8.8 percent and 12.6 percent again fall at one extreme of the distribution, followed closely by the Northwest with its 13.4 percent. At the opposite extreme is the Far West with 20.3 percent of its

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED POPULATION BY SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUPS: 1930

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC GROUP	UNITED STATES	SOUTH-EAST	SOUTH-WEST	NORTH-EAST	MIDDLE STATES	NORTH-WEST	FAR WEST
Professional persons.....	6.0	4.1	5.5	6.6	6.1	6.9	7.8
Proprietors, managers, and officials.....	19.9	28.8	29.2	11.8	19.2	31.3	16.0
Farmers (owners and tenants).....	12.4	23.7	21.9	3.4	11.5	23.5	6.7
Wholesale and retail dealers.....	3.7	2.7	3.6	4.2	3.6	3.6	4.2
Other proprietors, managers, and officials..	3.8	2.4	3.7	4.2	4.0	4.2	5.1
Clerks and kindred workers.....	16.2	8.8	12.6	19.8	17.7	13.4	20.3
Skilled workers and foremen.....	12.9	7.5	9.3	15.5	14.8	9.6	14.4
Semiskilled workers.....	16.3	10.9	9.3	22.4	16.7	9.2	15.0
Semiskilled workers in manufacturing....	9.4	6.1	3.2	14.4	9.7	2.9	5.9
Other semiskilled workers.....	7.0	4.9	6.2	8.1	7.0	6.2	9.1
Unskilled workers.....	28.7	39.8	34.1	23.8	25.5	29.7	26.4
Farm laborers.....	9.0	19.6	15.2	2.9	6.6	13.4	7.5
Factory and building construction laborers.	6.9	6.4	5.3	7.3	8.0	4.7	5.9
Other laborers.....	6.0	5.7	7.0	6.5	5.0	6.6	6.4
Service workers.....	6.8	8.1	6.6	7.1	6.0	4.9	6.5

Source: Adapted from state data tabulated in National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics*, 1. *National Data*, Table 26, pp. 68-74.

12.9 percent were skilled workers and foremen; and 16.3 percent were semiskilled workers.

About these figures for the nation, the social-economic distribution of the six major regions varies pretty widely. In the group, professional persons, for instance, the percentage ranges from 4.1 in the Southeast to 7.8 in the Far West, with the two southern regions the only ones falling below the national figure. In the group, proprietors, managers, and officials, the distribution in the regions ranges from

gainful workers classified as clerks and kindred workers, followed by the Northeast with 19.8 and the Middle States with 17.7 percent. In the percentage of skilled workers and foremen, the rank of the regions places the Southeast's 7.5 percent as the lowest, and the Northeast's 15.5 percent the highest, with the chief contrast again between the two southern regions (plus the Northwest) and the other three regions. In semiskilled workers the Northwest had 9.2 percent, the Southwest 9.3 percent, and the Southeast

TABLE II

NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONS PER 100,000 POPULATION: 1910, 1920, AND 1930; AND PERCENTAGE INCREASE 1910 TO 1930

REGION AND STATE	NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONS PER 100,000 POPULATION			PERCENT INCREASE FROM 1910-1930
	1910	1920	1930	
United States	1,775.1	1,939.4	2,399.3	35.2
SOUTHEAST	1,067.8	1,203.9	1,567.7	46.8
Virginia	1,221.1	1,438.0	1,834.8	50.3
North Carolina	908.7	1,126.8	1,516.2	66.9
South Carolina	863.5	1,034.2	1,453.1	68.3
Georgia	1,040.6	1,194.2	1,551.3	49.1
Florida	1,330.0	1,699.8	2,261.3	70.0
Kentucky	1,265.6	1,259.9	1,537.0	21.4
Tennessee	1,206.1	1,262.0	1,641.1	36.1
Alabama	946.1	1,037.8	1,381.5	46.0
Mississippi	910.1	1,043.7	1,297.0	42.5
Arkansas	1,073.2	1,117.6	1,388.6	29.4
Louisiana	1,066.8	1,230.2	1,568.2	47.0
SOUTHWEST	1,443.6	1,595.5	2,015.1	39.6
Oklahoma	1,514.5	1,609.9	2,021.1	33.4
Texas	1,395.7	1,552.8	1,976.3	41.6
New Mexico	1,403.9	1,642.8	1,941.1	38.3
Arizona	1,846.3	2,051.4	2,572.2	39.3
NORTHEAST	2,018.3	2,205.9	2,740.3	35.8
Maine	1,995.8	2,086.2	2,288.9	14.7
New Hampshire	1,904.7	2,039.6	2,491.8	30.8
Vermont	2,031.1	2,090.3	2,353.4	15.9
Massachusetts	2,264.9	2,450.8	3,054.3	34.9
Rhode Island	1,883.3	1,910.5	2,367.7	25.7
Connecticut	1,934.1	2,138.7	2,720.4	40.7
New York	2,384.6	2,655.3	3,209.8	34.6
New Jersey	1,893.4	2,132.9	2,859.3	51.0
Delaware	1,690.9	1,808.9	2,307.2	36.4
Pennsylvania	1,692.7	1,815.4	2,261.0	33.6
Maryland	1,773.0	1,959.9	2,389.2	34.8
West Virginia	2,408.9	1,486.1	1,856.5	31.8
MIDDLE STATES	1,914.3	2,017.4	2,426.2	26.7
Ohio	1,924.7	1,952.8	2,434.1	26.5
Indiana	1,761.2	1,852.1	2,199.3	24.9
Illinois	2,017.5	2,161.4	2,645.8	31.1
Michigan	1,805.9	1,881.2	2,302.7	27.5
Wisconsin	1,770.5	1,901.8	2,223.6	25.6
Minnesota	2,018.1	2,226.3	2,601.4	28.9
Iowa	2,187.1	2,225.0	2,541.1	16.2
Missouri	1,792.4	1,937.5	2,279.8	27.2
NORTHWEST	2,031.1	2,166.2	2,544.2	25.3
North Dakota	1,676.1	1,948.0	2,369.3	41.4
South Dakota	1,814.7	2,083.6	2,465.5	35.9
Nebraska	2,080.4	2,226.2	2,623.3	26.1

TABLE II—*Concluded*

REGION AND STATE	NUMBER OF PROFESSIONAL PERSONS PER 100,000 POPULATION			PERCENT IN- CREASE FROM 1910-1930
	1910	1920	1930	
Kansas.....	1,926.7	2,098.8	2,460.6	27.7
Montana.....	2,020.7	2,191.1	2,529.9	25.2
Idaho.....	2,030.4	1,963.3	2,329.0	14.7
Wyoming.....	1,942.2	2,035.4	2,541.6	30.9
Colorado.....	2,589.4	2,535.9	2,904.2	12.2
Utah.....	2,083.8	2,136.4	2,452.5	17.7
FAR WEST.....	2,709.2	2,954.9	3,421.2	26.3
Nevada.....	2,969.0	2,915.6	3,093.6	4.2
Washington.....	2,520.9	2,526.8	2,799.5	11.1
Oregon.....	2,513.5	2,649.9	2,980.6	18.6
California.....	2,846.0	3,194.9	3,671.7	29.0
District of Columbia.....	3,675.1	4,226.5	5,114.9	39.2

Sources: Thirteenth Census of the United States (1910), *Population*, Vol. IV, Table 3, p. 34 and Table II, pp. 96-151. Fourteenth Census of the United States (1920), Vol. IX, *Population*, Table 5, p. 44, and Table 15, pp. 56-127. Fifteenth Census of the United States (1930), Vol. IV, *Population: Occupations by States*, Table IV.

10.9 percent, as contrasted with the other three regions among which the Northeast ranked highest with 22.4 percent of its employed population classed as semi-skilled workers. In the sixth group, unskilled workers, the rank of the regions is again pretty largely determined by the relative number of farm laborers in the total employed group, which fact accounts for the large proportion of southern workers so classified.

That the relative importance of agriculture in the economy of a region influences its social-economic class structure seems evident from the contrasts between the three "agricultural" regions and the three "industrialized" regions, but that other factors also are involved seems clear from the contrasts between the two southern agricultural regions and the agricultural Northwest in proportion of workers classified in the "white collar" groups. Thus, the South finds the predominant part of its working population

in agriculture, almost inextricably involved in a system based on the marketing possibilities of a few staple crops, and tied in with an uneconomical system of tenancy and cropping. The economic weakness of such a system with the mass of the people in low income brackets partially accounts for the inability of the region to support a larger occupational structure on the upper levels. At the same time, the very existence of the problems of imbalance in the social-economic structure of the region creates a need for the very services—social, personal, and technical—that the system seems unable to support.

A more detailed analysis of one of these groups on the upper levels of employment, that designated professional persons, indicates that the southern regions offer the greatest possibility of accelerated changes in occupational distribution in the future, both because of their present relatively low number of such workers in proportion to population and because of recent trends

of expansion in nearly all professional services.⁶ This analysis shows that the Southeast and Southwest fell below the average for the nation in number of professional persons per unit of population at each of the last three census periods. In fact, the Southeast with 1,568 professional persons per 100,000 population in 1930, fell below the corresponding ratio of the nation and all other regions, except the Southwest, for the earlier census period, 1910. The extent of this lag in multiplying job opportunities on new levels of employment and in making available important services in the professional field is only emphasized by the fact that the two southern regions show the highest rates of increase for the twenty-year period covered.

This composite lag for the southern regions in number of professional persons is the result of an almost uniform lag in each of the separate professional services that go to make up the total group of professional persons. A comparison of the regions and the nation in number per 100,000 population in certain specified professional pursuits bears out this statement. In only two professional groups, clergymen and county agents, does the Southeast rank higher than the figure for the nation as a whole, and in neither of these pursuits does it rank higher than third among the six regions. The Southwest enjoys only a slightly more favorable position in respect to the national average and in comparison to the other regions. Extreme differences are found among the regions in the number per 100,000 popula-

tion of workers engaged in performing most of these services which have come to be regarded as increasingly important to the welfare of people, both urban and rural.

The rank of the southern regions in relative number of professional persons as well as the trends of change as revealed in Table II emphasizes the continued need for expansion of professional services in these regions and indicates a recent trend in the direction of "catching up" with the rest of the nation. There is nothing inherent in this trend, however, to guarantee its automatic continuation to the point of achieving a desirable balance within the region or between the regions in the nation. Underlying the high percentage of increase in relative number of professional persons in the southern regions is, of course, the extremely low point, by comparison to other regions, from which the trend starts. And there is, in addition, the fact that at the end of the period in 1930, there was still the wide differential between the South and the nation in occupational distribution and in the availability of needed professional services. Whether or not the South continues to approach the national average seems, therefore, to depend upon what happens in respect to certain other factors that are found to be related to the availability of professional services in a region.⁷

In a sense, then, the situation in the

⁶ In the social-economic group, professional persons, Edwards classifies some 28 professional pursuits. For a complete list of occupations arranged in six social-economic classes by Edwards, see: Bureau of the Census, *A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States, 1930*, Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 3-6.

⁷ In spite of a striking difference between Negro and white occupational distribution, of relatively lower availability of professional services to Negroes, and of their greater difficulty in rising into jobs on upper social-economic levels, the elimination of Negroes from the count does not change the ranking of the southern regions in comparison to the nation and to other regions. The achieving of balance is obviously a much more complex problem than that of insuring equal cultural participation for the Negro population of the South, as complex as that problem, itself, may be.

South contains both a challenge and a promise. Reproductive trends indicate that the South will continue for some time to produce the youth numerically adequate to fill the continuing demands of the nation for population replacement. The

the ability of the people within the region to pay for the services.

The reproductive vigor of the people of the South is the promise of the nation for future population resources, and the existing need for workers in service occupa-

TABLE III
NUMBER PER 100,000 POPULATION IN SPECIFIED PROFESSIONAL PURSUITS, 1930

PROFESSIONAL PURSUIT	UNITED STATES	SOUTH-EAST	SOUTH-WEST	NORTH-EAST	MIDDLE STATES	NORTH-WEST	FAR WEST
Actors and showmen	61.3	27.3	49.5	80.9	49.0	36.0	161.7
Architects	17.9	7.1	11.2	26.4	16.7	7.1	30.7
Artists, sculptors, and teachers of art	46.6	12.0	20.7	69.0	48.5	18.2	93.9
Authors, editors, and reporters	51.4	23.0	36.5	66.3	46.6	47.8	111.8
Chemists, assayers, and metallurgists	38.3	13.3	21.6	57.8	40.6	22.9	44.0
Clergymen	121.2	135.6	136.8	107.8	118.8	141.1	111.6
College presidents and professors	50.4	43.0	49.6	47.4	51.7	70.8	61.4
Dentists	57.8	29.3	33.5	66.3	66.4	60.0	94.1
Designers, draftsmen, and inventors	83.7	16.5	25.0	136.3	101.5	20.7	91.8
Lawyers, judges, and justices	130.7	88.0	121.1	152.1	126.4	117.6	171.6
Musicians and teachers of music	134.5	60.4	96.5	167.0	134.3	118.9	263.8
Osteopaths	5.0	1.7	3.6	3.9	6.6	9.1	11.2
Photographers	32.2	13.3	24.4	36.2	34.1	30.7	71.4
Physicians and surgeons	125.2	95.1	108.0	138.0	130.0	113.6	159.6
Teachers	865.0	720.1	889.9	851.6	878.4	1,240.4	958.7
Teachers (athletics and dancing)	15.2	7.5	10.7	18.8	14.5	12.4	31.5
Teachers (school)	850.3	712.6	879.2	832.7	863.9	1,228.0	927.2
Technical engineers	184.3	81.5	127.1	242.7	185.3	124.7	332.5
Civil engineers and surveyors	83.1	50.1	75.5	95.8	75.0	68.6	173.7
Electrical engineers	47.1	17.1	24.0	72.5	46.4	26.4	68.2
Mechanical engineers	44.3	11.4	17.5	63.6	56.5	15.1	60.0
Mining engineers	9.7	2.9	10.1	10.8	7.4	14.6	30.6
Trained Nurses	239.6	129.6	137.1	313.1	235.8	213.6	372.4
Veterinary surgeons	9.7	5.7	7.4	6.2	14.6	20.4	10.3
County agents, home demonstrators, etc.	4.5	6.8	7.0	2.2	3.9	7.6	6.2
Librarians	24.1	8.3	11.0	28.9	27.8	21.6	46.9
Social and welfare workers	25.4	12.8	11.6	34.9	27.0	13.8	36.7
Chiropractors	9.7	3.5	12.4	6.9	10.8	17.2	27.2
Healers	14.4	4.2	9.9	15.8	14.3	11.3	45.5
Religious workers	25.5	13.8	20.1	32.3	24.1	28.6	38.2

Source: Fifteenth Census of the United States (1930), Vol. IV, *Population: Occupations by States*, Table IV.

movement of these youth out of the region involves increasingly their ability to fill occupations on the upper levels. The movement of these youth within the region into employment in expanding service occupations, depends upon their ability to perform these services as well as upon

tions, particularly in professional services in the South, itself, is the promise of opportunity to an increasing proportion of these youth. Nevertheless, in spite of the remarkably high rates of increase in relative number of professional persons in the South in the last two decades, a

realistic view of the situation as it stands reveals the fact that population increase in that region means, in large measure, the banking up of population on occupational levels where job opportunities are relatively limited. This is the challenge to both nation and region.

Continuation of needed balancing between extractive and skilled or service occupations in the South, then, seems to hinge on two factors: one, education, an immediate concern for both nation and region; the other, a more efficient adjustment to regional resources in a better balanced economic system, involving a long time process of agricultural and industrial development. The provision of education is, of course, an integral part of the whole process of reintegration of agrarian culture in the life of the nation, and yet, as a practical point of beginning and as a basic approach for planning on a

regional basis, it offers a tangible illustration of the way in which regional problems become national problems, and an unusual opportunity for coöperation between nation and region in planning for their common welfare.

While the results of the slower processes of balancing agriculture and industry, or extractive and service occupations, are laying the basis for the support of a more adequate service structure in the region, a federal equalization fund for education might be supplementing the regional efforts to supply the basic training for a new generation of workers that would equip them for employment over a wider spread of occupations. In view of the South's position as the source of the nation's future population, the welfare of the nation as a whole seems to require no less than this.

THE SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE OF NEWS

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NEWS is what you see in the newspapers" may once have been a fairly adequate definition of news, at least for the purposes of the city editor training a cub or the journalism teacher presiding over a class in Reporting I. But then came the radio; and the city editor's boss, the publisher, became acutely aware that news can travel by other media than the newspaper. The journalism teacher had already begun to realize that comic strips, which unquestionably are seen in the newspapers, are only with difficulty classified as news; and, meanwhile, successful publishers of rural newspapers were proving that what is news for the *Stillwater* (Oklahoma)

Daily Press is not necessarily news for the *New York Times* and vice versa. As far back in history as the 1890's, during the waning of personal journalism and the ascendancy of news as a commodity having commercial value, newspapermen with an academic streak in their makeup had begun to worry about the distinction between news and opinion. The ideal came to be a commercial product which was "objective"—pure news free from all taint of opinion. In this ideal the newspaperman was pretty generally supported by the social scientist. But now a good many newspapermen are beginning to wonder if less "objectivity" and more "interpretation" might not be a good

thing, both for society and for the publisher's pocket-book.¹ Both the older "objective" and the newer "interpretative" ideals are rationalized through some variation of the Scripps-Howard slogan: "Give light and the people will find their own way." The question is: Which gives more light, objectivity or interpretation?²

While newspapermen and journalism teachers have been discussing news, objectivity, opinion, and interpretation from the viewpoints of their particular problems, social scientists have made a start toward study of the newspaper as a social institution, along with such related problems as public opinion and, more recently, propaganda; and they, too, face the need of a more adequate definition of that vague substance called news.

The traditional definitions of news are open to attack on at least six counts: (1) A tendency to conceive of news as a static *thing* rather than as a *process* (i.e., to define the news story or news report rather than the concept of news itself); (2) A tendency to accept uncritically the assumptions bound up in the plural form of the word; (3) A tendency to overlook the full implication of timeliness as a factor in reporting news; (4) A tendency to overlook the ultimate consumer of the news report as a factor in the process; (5) A tendency to define "news for the newspaper" rather than "news in general"; (6) A tendency (indeed, often a total failure) to distinguish between "news" and "news interest-value."

Most definitions of news attempt to

¹ See files of *Editor & Publisher* for recent years, particularly the two April issues reporting activities at the annual meetings of the various national organizations of newspapermen.

² "Interpretation" and "expression of opinion" are not necessarily synonymous, and either might be more or less objective. The terms are used here in about the sense which they are usually used among newspapermen.

single out some particular type of communication *content* which might be labelled "news." This has led to such unsatisfactory definitions as Gerald Johnson's: news is anything written by a first-rate newspaperman;³ and that definition alone is excuse enough for trying the other alternative and attempting to define news as process. When we do this, an easy first approximation is to classify news among those processes by which man becomes aware of his environment. Broadly speaking, a human being becomes aware of his environment in two ways: (1) By direct perception of that portion available to immediate physical experience; (2) By perception of symbols which represent to him portions of his environment lying outside the sphere of direct first-hand knowledge.

At first glance, a second approximation appears to be as simple as the first. It seems rather obvious that what we call news must fall in the second category rather than the first, for we tend to think of news as information coming from a distance, or at least from outside the realm of first-hand experience. But this assumption requires further examination. Does it not arise from our tendency to define news as "that which we see in the newspapers"? I am inclined to think so. Does an event cease to be news just because I hear of it over the radio, rather than read about it in the newspaper? If my infant son sprouts a new tooth and I write of the event in a letter to his doting grandmother, isn't that news to grandma? When the proud mother told me, on my return home from work, of her discovery of the tooth, wasn't that news to me? And when she first perceived the tooth, wasn't that news to her? Once start this line of reasoning and there is no distinction

³ Gerald W. Johnson, *What Is News?*, p. 90. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926).

between news and perception—or, at least, there is a close analogy between the two.

To pursue this trend of thought further, we must examine the process of perception and its place in the complete act. In perception, the individual is at no time aware of *all* the objects in his environment. At any given moment, he is aware of only some particular object—whether it be a Gestaltian “figure” or a more orthodox “stimulus object”—is immaterial for present purposes. He is aware of this object because he has an attitude toward it, i.e., a tendency to act with or concerning it. He has this attitude because the object offers resolution of a tension, i.e., of some unbalance or maladjustment between the individual and his environment. He perceives the object because it has meaning in terms of a response which will relieve the tension. When the response has been made and the tension relieved, the individual is again in equilibrium with that portion of his environment; and the object which was percept recedes into the background (i.e., ceases to be stimulus). So far as this particular part of his environment is concerned his acts become routine and habitual. Implicit in this theory is the assumption that if the individual were in complete and continuing adjustment with his environment there would be no tensions, no breaks in routine, no crises—and hence no perceptions. But, because the environment constantly changes, the individual receives a constant stream of perceptions. Change, perception, adjustment through action; another change, another perception, and another adjustment—this is experience. It has been spoken of as “the stream of consciousness” to indicate the never-ending succession of tension and adjustment. It might equally well be spoken of as a stream of perception.

Now, just as we may speak either of the stream of perception or of a perception, so we may speak of news or of *a new*.⁴ It is only because new “newses” succeed each other so rapidly that we have forgotten that each event or occurrence may be regarded as one individual “new.” New “newses” crowd upon each other so fast that news, like consciousness, appears to be a stream. Just as we can pick out the individual act of the conscious person only by analysis, so only by analysis can we pick out the individual occurrence which is *a* “new.” Nevertheless, for purposes of definition such analysis is helpful.

What, then, constitutes *a new*? Going back to the rôle which perception plays in the complete act, we find that a percept is constituted through *change* in the environment. It is the alteration in the environment which produces tension and thus leads to action. The attention-getting value of action is in point here, for action is change in relationship among objects. This, it seems to me, gives clues both to the nature of *a new* and to the importance of the element of timeliness in news. If I am to act to adapt myself to a change and thereby restore my equilibrium within my environment (i.e., if I am to meet a crisis successfully), I must become aware of that change and become aware of it as quickly as possible. For example, I may walk past a parked automobile and remain quite unconscious of its existence. But let that automobile be moving toward me as I cross at an intersection (i.e., let it be constituting a change in my environment) and I perceive it instantly. If I did not, I might become

⁴ The *New English Dictionary* seems to indicate that the word may once have been used in its singular form. Regardless of the etymological validity, however, I believe that use of the word in the singular helps to make the nature of news a bit clearer.

incapable of further perception. Therefore, the need of timeliness in receiving the report of its presence in my environment. From this analogy, I would suggest that *a new is a change in the environment of some individual.*

The last phrase raises the question of the part which the particular individual plays in constituting news. While I was dodging the automobile at the intersection, another pedestrian walking safely along the sidewalk may have been totally unaware of the automobile. Or, to go back to the baby-tooth illustration used above, the eruption of the tooth did not enter very significantly into the environment of the neighbor who thought I was an awful bore for boasting about it. These illustrations serve to point out that a new must be a new *to someone*. They bring us, furthermore, face to face with the problem of news interest-value as distinguished from news.

The news process involves three elements: (1) An event or occurrence—a change in relationship among objects. (2) A medium of transmission or report. (3) An individual within whose environment the change occurs. These three may be called, respectively, the news event, the news transmission medium, and the news recipient.⁵ Now the ordinary definition of news assumes that the news recipient is a reader of a newspaper of general circulation. That is, the traditional definition is colored by the assumption that "news is what we read about in the newspapers." It is defining, not "news," but "news interest-value with reference to a particular type of news recipient—the readers of the general

newspapers." To go behind this assumption to the nature of news in general, we must seek to know what makes a particular new interesting to a particular individual.

To say that a news event will interest a particular individual (i.e., that it has news interest-value for him) is merely to say that he will perceive that event. He perceives that event rather than some other partly because of having certain attitudes. In other words, that particular event has meaning in the light of that particular individual's past experiences, which is to say that he possesses a response for it. Hence we may extend the definition of a new which was given above by adding: *A new has news interest-value to a particular individual in the degree to which that individual's past experience has given him attitudes which provide a meaning for the event.* This helps to explain why the newspaper deals with those classes of events such as "sex and money" concerning which nearly every individual human has had experience and therefore has attitudes. The newspaper seeks to reach *everybody*, and hence deals with those subjects on which everybody has attitudes. This accounts in part for the paradox that for the newspaper of general circulation news is not *the new* at all, but, on the contrary, the old: violence, sex, struggle, appetites of one sort and another—the most primitive elements in man's psychological makeup. For such a real *new* as Einstein's announcement of the theory of relativity, the man in the street has no experience which will serve as a means of interpretation. Furthermore, custom rules the average newspaperman and the average newspaper reader; it took a James Gordon Bennett in the 1830's to see that the doings of Wall Street, "society," and the churches might be news, just as today it takes a

⁵ In perception, of course, there is no transmission medium, unless we choose to consider the light rays as being such in the case of ocular perception. Of this, more later.

newspaperman of uncommon insight to see that a "child bride" may be news.⁶

Thus far the news process has been treated as being almost exactly analogous to the process of perception. But now it must be admitted that the analogy is only an analogy, and that as commonly used the term "news" implies the *report* of an event.⁷

As a report, transmitted by some medium of communication, news always involves the problem of symbolism. What the news recipient perceives is, not the event itself, but language symbols which refer to or re-present the event. Hence many of the problems concerning news are problems of symbolism. But in so far as the symbols which are used refer adequately to the events reported, the problem of the news medium, if it wishes to avoid boring the news recipient, is to present language symbols which refer to events which would have been perceived by the news recipient had he been in primary, face-to-face presence of them. In determining what events to transmit, the person who selects the news reports to be transmitted must, consciously or unconsciously, adopt the theory developed in the analogy between news and perception. He must select for reporting those events which will have meaning to the news recipients he seeks to interest. In making his selection, he must take cogni-

zance of the attitudes of those news recipients. Stating the theory another way, the content of a news report is, ideally at least, the closest to raw, first-hand experience of any type of communication content. It is this which the scholar often fails to understand. He seeks to judge news by standards which hold good for a treatise that seeks to generalize but do not hold for news which is by nature concrete and specific. It is this which the self-conscious newspaperman means when he talks about "objective" news writing. His goal is to report those events which the news recipient would perceive were he in a position to perceive them first-hand, and to report those events in symbols which will give the news recipient the same psychological reactions he would have had were he face to face with the event itself. Unfortunately for this ideal, all language symbols have an emotional or attitudinal element as well as a purely denotative or referential one, and for this reason "opinion" persists in creeping into the news report. The reporter's experiences with particular words, and hence the attitudes they symbolize and the emotions they evoke, are for him different than they are for his reader. This leads directly to the problem of interpretative writing.

As an interpreter, the problem of the news writer is to present events which are most easily transmitted in terms understandable only to a special public, but to present them in language symbols which are used and understood throughout the general public.⁸ As an interpreter, the problem of the news writer is just what the word means: interpretation, translation. He must pick words which give a

⁶ It is notable, further, that once some innovator has shown the possibilities of a particular type of event such as the "child bride" incident, the imitators hasten to follow his lead and we have an epidemic of "child bride" stories. The operation of this factor in determining newspaper content would in itself make an interesting and significant subject of research in the field of news.

⁷ Which is to admit that news is thing and not process. Nevertheless, it should be remarked that news may be defined from the viewpoint of any one of the three elements in the news process: It may be regarded as a particular type of event, as the report of an event, or as the effect of that report upon the news recipient.

⁸ This concept of the special and the general public I owe to Professor Carroll D. Clark. See his article, "The Concept of the Public," in *Southwest Social Science Quarterly*, 13: 313-320 (March, 1933).

news event meaning for the man in the street. Akin to the problem of interpretation is the old journalism class problem of making interesting those events which are significant. The interesting events are those which the news recipient will perceive because of his already-existing attitudes. The significant events are those of which he needs to be aware in order to act rationally in some impending situation.⁹ The problem of the journalist¹⁰ is to find symbols which will refer to the significant event and still have meanings for the general reader. To make the significant interesting, the news writer must take advantage of the news recipient's pre-existing related and auxiliary attitudes¹¹ so that he will perceive (i.e.,

be interested in) the events which are significant. On the other hand, "pure" and "objective" news of the old school of news writing is presented to readers without reference to the integration of attitudes which will occur within the news recipient, but only with reference to already existing attitudes which give the event news interest-value (*not* "make the event news"). And this, in turn, may shed some light on the distinction between news and propaganda, for the propagandist selects his symbols not only with reference to the already existing attitudes to which he can "appeal," but also with reference to the new attitudes which will be aroused and which he hopes will be favorable to his cause.

⁹ In the analogy with perception, we saw that perception arises in a crisis. But in our complex, secondary-contact society the newspaper reader often fails to see a crisis merely because it is presented in terminology which he cannot interpret.

¹⁰ Use of the word "journalist" instead of newspaperman correlates with a broadened conception of news; it indicates an individual whose problems in handling daily events are essentially the same, regardless of whether his medium of report is the newspaper or some other channel of communication.

¹¹ Cf. Leonard W. Doob, *Propaganda*, pp. 43-44 and *passim*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1935).

Further consideration of the implications of the theories set forth here would extend this manuscript to book length, but the author hopes that he has presented those theories clearly enough so that their implications may be seen and developed by others whose knowledge of social psychology is more thorough, and that they may prove helpful in analysis of those sociological problems which involve the nature of news.

DR. WILLIAM McDUGALL

Dr. William McDougall, head of the Department of Psychology in Duke University, and long the outstanding psychologist in the English speaking world, died in Durham, N. C. November 29. Dr. McDougall's work was notable in the fields of anthropology and social psychology quite as much as in the field of psychology. He was born in Lancashire, England, 1871. He was educated mainly in the physical and biological sciences in Owen's College, Manchester, and in Cambridge University. After taking his A.B., he studied medicine in St. Thomas Hospital, London, and received a medical degree. Becoming interested in physiological psychology, he pursued his studies at Oxford University and at Göttingen, Germany. He became a reader in mental philosophy at University College, London, and then in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. His first published book was *Physiological Psychology* in 1905. In 1908, he published his world famous *Social Psychology*. In 1911, he published a field study of *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*. In 1912, he published another notable work, entitled *Body and Mind*, sustaining the dualistic position in philosophy. In 1920, he published a work on *Group Mind*. The same year he was called to Harvard University to fill the chair of psychology left vacant since the death of William James. Since 1926 scarcely a year passed without a work of his notable pen, among them being *Modern*

Materialism and Emergent Evolution (1929); *World Chaos—The Responsibility of Science* (1931); and *The Energies of Men* (1933). The last book was his final statement of his psychological theory.

As Dr. McDougall was a pioneer along many lines, his works have been frequently misunderstood and given rise to much controversy. It should always be borne in mind that he was trained as a biologist and in the medical science. His point of view in psychology and sociology remained therefore dominantly biological to the last. But he was a vitalist in biology, rather than a mechanist, with strong leanings toward Lamarckianism. To Dr. McDougall all reactions of living matter were purposive. All had to do with sustaining and enhancing the life of the organism. Upon this point of view he built his purposive or "hormic" psychology. Nevertheless, he was tolerant toward all pioneering experimentation, from extra-sensory perception to the testing of Lamarckian inheritance. He should be remembered, however, chiefly for his attempt to give to human behavior a foundation in more or less intelligent purposive activities rather than in mere mechanistic reactions to stimuli.

CHARLES A. ELLWOOD

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TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

A PRELIMINARY GROUP CLASSIFICATION¹ BASED ON STRUCTURE

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IN A previous article¹ I have endeavored to show the inadequacy of our present concept of the group and that only through exact description of the various kinds of groups will we be able to determine the specific differences in their many forms. Description will give us new insights into the distinctive characteristics of groups, but it will also furnish the basis for inductive generalizations with regard to similarities, so that we may establish classes of groups based on their fundamental differences of structure. These classes of groups may then be given names which will have meaning, analogous to the genera, families, and orders of biology. The term *group* would then signify merely any plurality pattern of association and distinctive names would characterize the major classes of groups, as the terms fish, bird, and mammal designate major classes of animals. Instead of a vague notion of primary group or locality group, we should have a class with distinctive characteristics based on an inductive generalization of the specific

characteristics of various kinds of groups having the essential common structural features differentiating them from all others. Only when sociology can give definite content to such vague terms, now in common use, as primary group, church, school, etc., and differentiate such classes of groups with specific characters, will it have the basis for making scientific generalizations concerning the structure of human society. The differential characters are established by the process of classification.

Many classifications of groups have been proposed,² but most of them have no uniform principle or method of classification,³ while others are based on functions,⁴ interests, or aims, which give no consideration to likenesses or differences of group structure. Simmel⁵ has shown that sociology must deal with the form rather than the content of the phenomena of

² Earl Edward Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, pp. 135-153.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 138-140.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-146.

⁵ Nicholas J. Spykman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, Chapter II, Sociology. The Study of the Forms of Socialization.

¹ Dwight Sanderson, "Group Description," *Social Forces*, 16, 309-319 (March, 1938).

association. Znaniecki⁶ has brought this out most clearly, when he says:

We must, then, look within the social system itself, as an empirical datum, for that which really conditions it in a greater or smaller measure and is, consequently, more or less important for its scientific description. *This means, of course, that the system must be defined neither in terms of its qualities nor in those of the underlying tendencies, but in those of its elements and their relationship, or its real—not its ideal—components.* In the same way the various "characters" on which the anatomical classification of animals are based are distinct elements, "organs," real components of the biological systems classified—unlike the color, the shape or the size, which can only be abstracted, but not separated as real objects from the system which they characterize.⁶ (*Italics mine.*)

Indeed, Znaniecki⁷ has recently so well described the essential principles and methods of classification of groups that any general discussion of the topic in this connection is unnecessary. His insistence on the genetic approach to classification and the importance of revealing relations of phylogeny and ontogeny is particularly helpful.

Incidental to our exploration of methods of group description, discussed in the previous paper, we have attempted to show the possibilities of working out a classification of kinds of groups based on their structural differences. Although the classification is only a tentative one and is confessedly incomplete and sketchy, it is felt that it may be worthwhile to publish it merely as an example of the sort of classification which might be worked out more completely and satisfactorily, if we had a sufficient body of descriptions of the different kinds of groups. It is offered merely to promote discussion and to incite others to make similar attempts.

The classification is presented in the

⁶ Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology*, p. 264.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Chapter VI, Analytic Induction in Sociology.

form of a key, based on what seem to be fundamental differences in the structure of the major classes of groups, such as what determines composition, method of entrance, form of organization, degree of control of behavior, and form of participation. Although the key is largely dichotomous, no attempt has been made to make it strictly so, as for our present purposes, this might tend to obscure classes of relatively equal rank. The key makes no attempt to cover all kinds of groups, nor has it been carried out to indicate different subdivisions or varieties of major kinds of groups, as, for instance, the different kinds of family groups, tribes, communities. Some kinds of groups might be placed in one or another division of the key depending upon what characteristic is considered most important. This is also true of classifications and keys in biology, which merely represent the view of the author, or of accepted opinions of competent students, as to the relative genetic importance of various characteristics. Our purpose is merely to bring out some of the chief characteristics of different patterns of structure. It has not seemed possible in such a classification to provide for differences of size in groups, although it is obvious that the relationships in a small group of whatever kind will be more intimate and of a different character than those which will occur in a large group of the same general pattern in which the structure will necessarily be more loose.

A PRELIMINARY STRUCTURAL CLASSIFICATION OF GROUPS

- I. INVOLUNTARY GROUPS,—members by birth, residence, or location. Identity and composition due to
 - A. Blood relation or kinship (biological),—e.g., family, clan, tribe, folk, race.
 - B. Locality (geographical),—e.g., neighborhood, community, section, region; state, or nation, city, village, hamlet (as communities and not as units of government).

- C. Incidental contiguity
 - 1. Temporary—little interaction, but common point of attention,—e.g., *crowd, audience.*
 - 2. Continuous
 - a. Occupational,—e.g., *factory, store, faculty.*
 - b. Residence,—e.g., *school, prison, hospital.*
 - D. Cultural, non-territorial,—e.g., *nationality, caste.*
 - E. Citizenship, imposed by government of whatever sort,—e.g., *national state, province or state, county, city, or village, as political units.*
- II. VOLUNTARY GROUPS,—members by choice.
- A. Unorganized
 - 1. Personal—personal contacts, intimate, primary, informal,—e.g., *play group, loafing group, commuters group.*
 - 2. Impersonal—little interaction, no personal contacts, common point of attention,—e.g., *public.*
 - B. Organized
 - 1. Leader dominant
 - a. Informal, personal, contacts intimate, leader one of group,—e.g., *gang.*
 - b. Formally organized
 - ba. Leader an adult outside of group, appointed by a higher authority,—e.g., *4-H club, scout troop, Sunday School class.*
 - bb. Leader a director of coordinate participating group—e.g., *band, orchestra, chorus, glee club, football, basketball, baseball teams, crews, ballet.*
 - bc. Leader employed as director
 - bca. Church
 - 1. Leader appointed by central authority,—*Roman Catholic or Methodist Episcopal.*
 - 2. Leader elected by group,—*non-episcopal.*
 - bcb. Project-organizing groups,—e.g., *Chambers of commerce, Farm Bureaus.*
 - bcc. Character building and cultural associations,—e.g., *Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Y. M. H. A., Settlement houses, etc.*
 - bcd. Leader in control of group behavior, but subject to a higher authority in a hierarchy of control.
 - bda. Leader elected by group.
 - 1. Leader controls a particular type of behavior,—e.g.,
- political party local or larger unit.
 - 2. Leader controls all behavior,—e.g., *a religious order.*
 - bdb. Leader appointed by a higher authority with control of behavior while on duty,—e.g., *army, police, and fire departments.*
- 2. Leader not dominant
 - A. Exclusive membership
 - a. Honorific,—e.g., *honor society, Order of Bath, French Academy.*
 - b. Fraternal
 - 1. Secret,—e.g., *lodges, fraternities*
 - 2. Non-secret, contacts at lunches,—e.g., *service clubs, Rotary, etc.*
 - c. Patriotic,—e.g., *D. A. R., Colonial Dames.*
 - d. Social,—e.g., *dancing club, card club.*
 - e. Other special interest,—e.g., *literary society.*
 - B. Restricted, but not exclusive membership
 - a. Admission restricted to those agreeing to conform with regard to certain behavior.
 - 1. Control confined to business behavior.
 - aa. Agree to collective bargaining.
 - 1. On wages,—e.g., *Trade Unions.*
 - 2. On sales,—e.g., *Cooperative marketing associations.*
 - ab. Agree on rules for trading,—e.g., *stock exchange, commodity exchange.*
 - b. Membership restricted to stockholders, i.e. part owners of group property.
 - 1. Vote by stock,—e.g., *corporation, bank.*
 - 2. Vote by individuals,—e.g., *most cooperative associations.*
 - C. Inclusive membership
 - a. Groups in which members participate in furthering a common interest, the position of officers being nominal,—e.g., *radio club, philately club, garden club, horticultural society, local breeders association.*

- b. Groups acting through boards of directors and officers; interaction chiefly at annual meetings and through publications.

- ba. Annual meeting nominal, most members only contributors,—e.g., *National Child Labor Committee* and similar organizations.

- 1. Members electing boards of directors.

- 2. Boards of directors electing themselves.

- bb. Annual meetings for presentation of papers and discussion,—e.g., non-local groups such as *national, state, or regional learned societies and business men's associations*.

III. DELEGATE GROUPS,—members representatives of and chosen by groups.

- A. Federations, representative of sovereign groups,—e.g., *American Federation of Labor, League of Nations, United States of America*.

- B. Legislative conventions of centrally controlled organizations,—e.g., *Methodist Conference*.

- C. Congresses, temporary, no powers,—e.g., *international congresses*

Brief comments may be desirable to explain the categories upon which this classification is based and to clarify the concepts of structure involved. The three major classes of Involuntary, Voluntary, and Delegate Groups (I, II, III) are separated as the names indicate by the manner in which the individual becomes a member of the group.

Involuntary groups are similar to the *Gemeinschaft* of Tönnies.⁸ In all involuntary groups, the individual is a member through no choice of his own and for no specific purpose. G. D. H. Cole considers them all as a form of community.

In order to be a community, a group must exist for the good life and not merely for the furtherance of

some specific and partial purpose. Thus, a cricket club, or a trade union, or a political party is not a community, because it is not a self-contained group of complete human beings, but an association formed for the furtherance of a particular interest common to a number of persons who have other interests outside it. A community is thus essentially a social unit or group to which human beings belong, as distinguished from an association with which they are only connected.⁹

At least two things are fundamentally necessary to any association—a common purpose or purposes and, to a certain extent, rules of common action.¹⁰

MacIver more properly restricts the term "community" to a group with a definite area.

Community is an area of common life; an association is a definite organization pursuing some specific interest or pursuing general interests in some specific way.¹¹

The first subdivision of involuntary groups includes those held together by blood ties. Obviously, this class, as is the case with others, is susceptible of much further classification, which has not been attempted. The second subdivision consists of locality groups, equivalent to the concept Community of MacIver, and is based on permanent geographical contiguity.¹² The third subdivision is somewhat similar, but is based on temporary contiguity, as in groups which are thrown together by occupation or residence in an institution. The fourth subdivision of cultural, non-territorial groups, includes nationality groups in a foreign environment, not necessarily in contiguity, as the Italians in New York

⁸ G. D. H. Cole, *Social Theory*, p. 26.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹ Robert A. MacIver. *Community—A Sociological Study*, p. 155.

¹² For a discussion of the relation of the geographical and psychological aspects of the rural community, see my *The Rural Community*, p. 477-482. For different kinds of locality groups and their relations, see *ibid.*, pp. 598-600.

⁸ Ferdinand Tönnies, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Berlin. Karl Curtius, 1926 (1887). Sixth and Seventh Editions. See Eubank, *op. cit.*, p. 151; and Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, p. 491.

City; or the Jewish race; or a caste. The fifth subdivision includes all groups resulting from citizenship under any form of government, and is, of course, capable of extensive subdivision.

Voluntary groups are those which one joins by choice, although in some cases this is more theoretical than real, as in the case of affiliation with a particular church or political party, which is often due to family or local conditioning. Voluntary groups are equivalent to the associations of Cole and MacIver, and are by far the most common class of groups with which we commonly have to deal. It is important to observe Cole's point that they include only a certain part of the individual, which has been called the group-person by Eubank.¹³ Voluntary groups are divided into those which are unorganized or organized by the presence or absence of any definite pattern of structure with a recognized division of labor among the members. This concept of organization needs further clarification and more precision.

Organized groups are characterized by having some kind of leader and may be divided into two classes by the dominance of the leader. By dominance, it is not implied that the leader always or necessarily exercises domination,¹⁴ but that, although his position encourages this and sometimes requires it, the rôle of the leader in the group structure is a dominant one. In the Gang, the leader is dominant and the group is organized, but it is not formally organized. It is an informal group. In other organized groups in which the leader is dominant, his rôle and position varies, but different kinds of groups may be brought together in classes according to the distinctive rôle of the leader, in his relation to the group.

Groups which employ leaders as directors, whether they be churches, chambers of commerce, or Christian associations, have a certain similarity of structure. It should be noted, however, that not all churches can be included in this class (II B, 1 bca). Thus, the orthodox Quaker meeting and the local Mormon church have no paid ministers, and should be classified under II, B, 2 B. This furnishes a good example of the fact that, what is commonly considered as a distinct kind of group, i.e. church, may really include at least two, and possibly more, distinct kinds of groups when considered from the standpoint of structure.

In the groups in which the leader has the most dominance are those in which rigid obedience to him is expected of members of the group, but is also exacted from him by a higher authority. It would be interesting to explore the differences in leader-member relationships in these militaristic types of groups.

The voluntary organized groups in which the leader is not dominant may be divided by restrictions on membership into those which are exclusive, restricted, or inclusive. The subdivision of classes of exclusive membership groups (II B, 2 A) is confessedly weak in that it departs from the principle of structural difference and distinguishes some of them by group interests or purposes, as patriotic and social groups. This question as to whether various groups with similar structure may be distinguished except by their interests or purposes is more evident in those having inclusive membership, class II B, 2 C a, including various kinds of clubs and societies whose structural organization is very similar and which differ chiefly in the objects to which they are devoted. However, careful description of each of these different kinds of groups may reveal structural differences which will make possible a precise classification.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 107-109.

¹⁴ Cf. Paul Pigors, *Leadership or Domination*, p. 48.

Inclusive groups (II B, 2 C) are inevitably looser in their organization. They may be divided into two main classes according to whether the position of the officers is nominal, or whether the activities of the organization are chiefly carried on by the officers and board of directors. In the latter class are to be found some so-called groups in which the directors reelect each other and the members are merely contributors and supporters, as is commonly the case in many philanthropic and charitable organizations.

The third main class (III) of groups is that in which the members are delegates or representatives of their respective groups, as occurs in the representative body of any federation or in a convention of constituent units of various organizations. In federations, the delegates represent sovereign groups, whereas in such a convention as a Methodist Conference, the delegates represent local units which are the creatures of the central organization. Federations are usually composed of more or less permanent delegates, while delegates to conventions and congresses are appointed for but a single session. Con-

gresses differ from conventions of organizations, in that they usually have no power and serve only for discussion.

Imperfect as the above preliminary classification undoubtedly is, it is presented merely as an illustration of the sort of fundamental differences and similarities which might be revealed by a more rigorous structural classification based upon an adequate description of many kinds of groups.

As indicated in the previous paper, it is probable that a satisfactory classification should be based not only on structure, but also on the description of the characteristic behaviors and functions of the different kinds of groups; but this will require much research before a satisfactory classification can be attempted upon this inclusive basis.

The fundamental point is that only through classification can the essential differences in groups be revealed in a way which will make generalizations concerning those of similar characteristics possible; and that, as a basis for such classification, we must have more accurate and comprehensive group description.

ANALYSES OF RACIAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN SEVEN CLINICAL CATEGORIES OF WHITE AND NEGRO MENTAL PATIENTS IN THE GEORGIA STATE HOSPITAL, 1923-32*

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PURPOSE

THE purpose of this paper is to make certain comparisons of white and Negro mental patients in Georgia within seven selected mental disorder

categories. The seven clinical categories of disorders used as a basis for these interracial comparisons were as follows: (1) senile psychoses; (2) psychoses with cerebral arteriosclerosis; (3) general paralysis; (4) psychoses with cerebral syphilis; (5) manic-depressive psychoses; (6) dementia praecox psychoses; (7) all clinical groups, i.e., all mental disorders of every

* This paper is abridged from a report made to the Section on Research of the Southern Sociological Society, Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 1, 1938.

type. White and Negro patients within these seven clinical groups were compared, by each sex separately, with respect to each of the following factors:

- A. Comparisons based on differences in standard rates
 1. Standard rates of first admission
 2. Standard death rates
 3. Standard discharge rates
 4. Standard readmission rates
- B. Comparisons based on differences in medians
 1. Median age at first admission
 2. Median duration of residence prior to death of patients dying during a period of hospital residence
 3. Median age at death of patients dying at the State Hospital
- C. Comparisons based on differences in percentages of discharged patients classified as
 1. "Recovered"
 2. "Improved"
 3. "Unimproved"

A definition of terms used in referring to certain data is perhaps in order. By *first admissions* is meant all patients entering the hospital for the first time. The term *resident patients* refers to hospital inmates, whether first admissions or readmissions, under treatment as of a given date. As herein used, the term *deaths* refers to patients dying during a period of hospital residence. By *standard rate of first admissions* is meant the number of first admissions within a given clinical category per 100,000 general population of the same race and sex over 15 years of age. By *standard death rate* is meant the number of deaths within a given clinical category per 100 resident patients of the same category, race and sex. *Standard discharge rates* indicate the number of persons discharged within a given clinical category per 100 resident patients of the same clinical category, race and sex. *Standard readmission rates* indicate the number of persons readmitted to the hospital per 100 discharged patients of the same clinical category, race and sex.

PROCEDURE

Data dealing with the seven clinical categories of patients and the several analytic factors mentioned above were secured from the Annual Reports of the Georgia State Hospital for the Insane for each of the years 1923-32 inclusive, and averages were computed for the decade. The figures on the general population used in computing the standard rates of first admission were obtained from the 14th (1920) and 15th (1930) Federal Census reports. The various Negro-white ratios were obtained in each instance by dividing the "Negro" value by the corresponding "white" value. The reliability of the obtained differences in medians and of that in percentages are expressed in terms of critical ratios¹ and chances in 100 of a true difference between the two races, by each sex separately.

RELIABILITY OF THE PRESENT SAMPLING

Limitations of space preclude a full discussion of this topic. It should be said, however, that the present data represent approximately 98 percent of all hospitalized mental patients in Georgia during the decade under study. It is recognized, of course that the present data are subject to the inaccuracies due to subjective categorization,² clerical ineptness, etc. commonly found in records of hospitalized patients.

¹ It should be noted that, due to the nature of the data involved, it was found advisable to express the reliability of differences in medians in terms of probable error (Table II), whereas the reliability of differences in percentages are expressed in terms of standard deviation (Table III).

² Although logical and legitimate objections may be offered to the classification of mental patients within specific and arbitrary disorder categories, the statistical analyst can not go beyond the limitations of the data available for his study. He can only recognize and make due allowances for such limitations. Lack of perfect data does not constitute sufficient justification for research lassitude or dormant intellectual curiosity.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Since detailed analyses of all the data in the three accompanying tables are inadvisable, only the most significant generalizations will be reported here.

A. Comparisons based on differences in standard rates

The Negro-white ratios (Table I) express as a percentage the numerical relationship between a given "Negro" standard rate and its corresponding "white" standard rate. That is, a Negro-white ratio of less than one (1.00) indicates that for the given category Negroes have a lower standard rate for that category than do whites. For the purposes of this study it has been considered advisable to compare the two races in terms of a so-called "favorable" or "unfavorable" status of one race as compared with the other.³ "Favorable" ratings would result from (1) relatively low standard rates of first admission—presumably showing low initial susceptibility to mental disorder, or inadequate hospitalization facilities or policies, or both; (2) relatively low standard death rates—indicating low death incidence⁴ accompanying, or resulting

from, mental disorder; (3) relatively high discharge rates—presumably showing marked ability to recuperate readily from mental disorders, or preferential therapy, or both; (4) relatively low readmission rates—presumably showing a marked resistance to the recurrence of mental disorders, or inadequate hospitalization facilities or policies, or both. "Unfavorable" ratings have exactly reverse connotations to those indicated above for "favorable" ratings.

Of the 52 possible interracial comparisons dealing with the four types of standard rates, 31 comparisons are favorable to whites and 21 are favorable to Negroes. Sixteen of the 31 comparisons favorable to whites are found among males, and 15 are found among females. Eleven of the 21 comparisons favorable to Negroes are found among males, while only ten are found among females.

Analyses of the distribution of "favorable" ratings according to the seven clinical categories reveal that only in the case of senile psychoses⁵ is there an excess of ratings favorable to Negroes (five

³ It is recognized, of course, that the terms "favorable" and "unfavorable" fail to indicate the magnitude of such differences as may exist between the two races and that in some instances the presumably and allegedly "favorable" status of one race as compared with the other may be more apparent than real. For example, a presumably "favorable" status on standard readmission rates (i.e., few readmissions per 100 discharged patients) may be due to a highly "unfavorable" standard death rate in the hospital population which eliminated those persons who, had they been discharged, would have been poor readmission risks. However, despite the limitations involved in the use of comparisons of this sort, it is believed that a judicious interpretation of such comparisons will prove significant.

⁴ Such low death incidence may be presumed to result from innate or acquired resistances to the effects of the lethal disorder, or preferential therapy, or both.

⁵ Supplementary data (not included in Table I) indicate that the "favorable" status of Negro seniles is reliable. It should be remembered that the standard rates of first admission given in Table I merely indicate the number of first admissions within a given disorder group, race and sex per 100,000 general population above 15 years of age of the same race and sex. Since senile patients are rarely hospitalized under 60 years of age and since there are proportionately fewer Negroes than whites in the general population above 60 years of age, it is obvious that the standard rates for this disorder might be misleading. However, when standard rates of first admission for seniles are computed on the basis of per 100,000 general population above 60 years of age it is found that the Negro rate (12.0) is only 64 per cent as great as that for whites (18.7). When senile standard rates of first admission are based on the number of persons in the general population between 50 and 60 years of age, they are favorable to Negroes, but the number of cases involved in this comparison is so small as to make this finding statistically unreliable.

TABLE I

COMPARISONS OF CERTAIN MENTAL DISORDERS AMONG (a) WHITE MALES AND NEGRO MALES AND (b) WHITE FEMALES AND NEGRO FEMALES ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING STANDARD INDICES: (1) STANDARD RATES OF FIRST ADMISSION (PER 100,000 GENERAL POPULATION OVER 15 YEARS OF AGE OF THE SAME RACE AND SEX); (2) STANDARD DEATH RATES (PER 100 RESIDENT PATIENTS OF SAME RACE AND SEX); (3) STANDARD DISCHARGE RATES (PER 100 RESIDENT PATIENTS OF THE SAME RACE AND SEX); (4) STANDARD READMISSION RATES (PER 100 DISCHARGED PATIENTS OF THE SAME RACE AND SEX)

Data are based on the Georgia State Hospital Reports for the years 1923-32, inclusive

		SENILE	CEREBAL ARTERIOSCLEROSIS	GENERAL PARALYSIS	CEREBAL SYPHILIS	MANIC DEPRESSIVE	DEMENTIA PARVOX	ALL CLINICAL GROUPS
Whites								
1a	Standard rates of 1st adm. (per 100,000 over 15 yrs.)—males	1.8	6.4	3.6	0.2	10.5	6.6	49.5
1b	Standard rates of 1st adm. (per 100,000 over 15 yrs.)—females	2.2	2.0	0.6	0.1	13.6	9.1	42.1
2a	Standard death rates (per 100 res. pts.)—males	57.1	34.8	22.7	26.0	5.1	2.3	7.4
2b	Standard death rates (per 100 res. pts.)—females	32.2	33.0	21.8		3.3	2.2	4.2
3a	Standard discharge rates (per 100 res. pts.)—males	10.3	22.4	14.6	43.5	59.6	10.7	24.1
3b	Standard discharge rates (per 100 res. pts.)—females	4.8	22.0	11.8		35.3	9.8	17.5
4a	Standard readmission rates (per 100 disc. pts.)—males	57.1	18.8	27.0	20.0	27.6	28.8	24.1
4b	Standard readmission rates (per 100 disc. pts.)—females	18.2	16.0	38.5		29.6	36.0	27.7
Negroes								
1a	Standard rates of 1st adm. (per 100,000 over 15 yrs.)—males	0.8	6.2	9.0	0.6	11.6	6.1	50.6
1b	Standard rates of 1st adm. (per 100,000 over 15 yrs.)—females	1.9	3.2	3.1	0.4	13.3	14.5	51.2
2a	Standard death rates (per 100 res. pts.)—males	32.5	45.7	68.0	25.5	6.3	3.1	12.3
2b	Standard death rates (per 100 res. pts.)—females	22.9	32.1	50.6	17.5	5.8	4.0	8.8
3a	Standard discharge rates (per 100 res. pts.)—males	4.8	10.8	10.2	23.4	34.1	7.7	14.7
3b	Standard discharge rates (per 100 res. pts.)—females	1.1	16.0	22.5	17.5	22.3	8.7	14.7
4a	Standard readmission rates (per 100 disc. pts.)—males	50.0	17.5	12.2		14.9	25.4	16.8
4b	Standard readmission rates (per 100 disc. pts.)—females	33.3	7.7	16.7	20.0	21.9	28.1	22.0

TABLE I—*Concluded*

		SENILE	CEREBRAL ARTERIOSCLEROSIS	GENERAL PARALYSIS	CEREBRAL SYPHILIS	MANIC DEPRESSIVE	DEMENTIA PRAECOX	ALL CLINICAL GROUPS
Negro white ratios								
1a	Standard rate of 1st adm. (per 100,000 over 15 yrs.)—males	0.44	0.97	2.50	3.00	1.10	0.92	1.02
1b	Standard rate of 1st adm. (per 100,000 over 15 yrs.)—females	0.86	1.60	5.17	4.00	0.98	1.59	1.22
2a	Standard death rate (per 100 res. pts.)—males	0.57	1.31	3.00	0.98	1.24	1.35	1.66
2b	Standard death rate (per 100 res. pts.)—females	0.71	0.97	2.32		1.76	1.82	2.10
3a	Standard discharge rate (per 100 res. pts.)—males	0.47	0.48	0.70	0.54	0.57	0.72	0.61
3b	Standard discharge rate (per 100 res. pts.)—females	0.23	0.73	1.91		0.63	0.89	0.84
4a	Standard readmission rate (per 100 disc. pts.)—males	0.88	0.93	0.45		0.54	0.88	0.70
4b	Standard readmission rate (per 100 disc. pts.)—females	1.83	0.48	0.43		0.74	0.78	0.79

ratings favor Negroes) over those favorable to whites (three ratings favor whites). Among cerebral arteriosclerotics, both races have an equal number of favorable ratings (four favorable ratings each). In the remaining categories there is an excess of ratings favorable to whites over those favorable to Negroes, as follows: general paresis—Negroes, 3; whites, 5; cerebral syphilis—Negroes, 1; whites, 3; manic-depressives—Negroes, 3; whites, 5; dementia praecox—Negroes, 3; whites, 5; all clinical groups—Negroes, 2; whites, 6.

If analyses are made of the distribution of ratings favorable to whites or Negroes for each of the four standard rates separately, the following findings are noted. Nine out of 14 comparisons based on standard rates of first admission are favorable to whites, whereas only five are favorable to Negroes. It is worthy of special mention that Negroes are enormously more likely than whites to be hospitalized with general paresis (males

—2.50 to 1; females—5.17 to 1) and cerebral syphilis (males—3.00 to 1; females—4.00 to 1). Only in the case of senile psychoses (males—.44 to 1, females—.86 to 1) do Negroes have a notably favorable status in initial susceptibility to hospitalization. Interracial comparisons based on standard death rates show whites to have nine favorable ratings out of 14, whereas Negroes have only four favorable ratings out of 14. Again worthy of special mention is the comparatively favorable status of Negro seniles, and the relatively highly unfavorable status of Negro paretics. In only one (female paretics—1.91 to 1) out of 13 interracial comparisons based on standard discharge rates are Negroes found to compare favorably with whites, and the number of patients in this comparison is so small as to make this finding statistically unreliable. The remaining twelve comparisons based on standard discharge rates show Negroes to have a markedly or

TABLE II

COMPARISONS OF CERTAIN MENTAL DISORDERS AMONG (a) WHITE MALES AND NEGRO MALES AND (b) WHITE FEMALES AND NEGRO FEMALES ON THE BASIS OF THE FOLLOWING FACTORS: (1) MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST ADMISSION; (2) MEDIAN DURATION OF HOSPITAL RESIDENCE PRIOR TO DEATH; (3) MEDIAN AGE AT DEATH

Data are based on the Georgia State Hospital Reports for the years 1923-32, inclusive

		SENILE	CEREBRAL ARTERIO- SCLEROSIS	GENERAL PARALYSIS	CEREBRAL SYPHILIS	MANIC DEPRES- SIVE	DEMENTIA PRAECOX	ALL CLINICAL GROUPS
Whites								
1a	Median age at first admission—males	69.80	65.18	42.89	33.75	35.94	28.95	38.78
1b	Median age at first admission—females	69.57	65.79	38.85	45.00	37.66	34.36	36.99
2a	Median duration of hosp. residence at death— males	0.50	0.69	0.75	0.75	1.94	14.16	1.59
2b	Median duration of hosp. residence at death— females	1.82	1.18	1.00	0.75	3.11	9.57	3.49
3a	Median age at death—males	69.91	67.17	45.96	50.00	57.86	49.58	56.34
3b	Median age at death—females	69.58	67.02	42.17	53.53	54.29	52.14	56.50
Negroes								
1a	Median age at first admission—males	67.27	59.87	43.05	46.25	28.22	27.61	35.00
1b	Median age at first admission—females	66.33	54.74	39.74	32.50	31.03	31.24	33.34
2a	Median duration of hosp. residence at death— males	0.54	0.43	0.42	0.67	1.60	4.69	0.90
2b	Median duration of hosp. residence at death— females	0.57	0.78	0.41	0.67	2.55	4.22	1.33
3a	Median age at death—males	68.26	62.40	44.40	45.00	42.89	36.67	46.04
3b	Median age at death—females	68.15	57.83	38.83	35.00	37.40	36.25	39.25
Negro-white comparisons								
1a	W.-N. Differences in median age at first ad- mission—males	2.53	5.31	-0.16	-12.50	7.72	1.34	3.78
	Diff. in medians/P.E. diff. in medians —males	1.57	6.10	0.18	3.64	9.65	1.60	7.27
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in medians —males	85	100	55	99	100	86	100
1b	W.-N. Differences in median age at first ad- mission—females	3.24	11.05	-0.89	12.50	6.63	3.12	3.65
	Diff. in medians/P.E. diff. in medians —females	2.70	8.31	0.45	1.39	10.69	4.50	9.34
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in medians —females	97	100	62	83	100	100	100
2a	W.-N. Differences in median hosp. residence —males	-0.04	0.26	0.33	0.08	0.34	9.47	0.69
	Diff. in medians/P.E. diff. in medians —males	0.29	3.71	3.67	0.18	1.13	5.64	9.86
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in medians —males	58	99	99	55	78	100	100

TABLE II—*Concluded*

		SENILE	CEREBRAL ARTERIO- SCLEROSIS	CEREBRAL PARALYSIS	CEREBRAL SYPHILIS	MANIC DEPRES- SIVE	DEMENTIA PRAECOX	ALL CLINICAL GROUPS
Negro-white comparisons— <i>Continued</i>								
2b	W.-N. Differences in median hosp. residence—females	1.25	0.40	0.59	0.08	0.56	5.35	2.16
	Diff. in medians/P.E. diff. in medians—females	5.95	2.00	2.19	0.13	2.24	5.00	13.50
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in medians—females	100	91	93	54	93	100	100
3a	W.-N. Differences in median age at death—males	1.65	4.77	1.56	5.00	14.97	12.91	10.30
	Diff. in medians/P.E. diff. in medians—males	1.07	4.77	1.47	0.67	6.59	5.12	14.70
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in medians—males	76	100	84	67	100	100	100
3b	W.-N. Differences in median age at death—females	1.43	9.19	3.34	18.53	16.89	15.89	17.25
	Diff. in medians/P.E. diff. in medians—females	1.32	5.67	1.14	2.05	10.11	9.81	22.12
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in medians—females	81	100	78	91	100	100	100

enormously unfavorable status as compared with whites. Interracial comparisons based on standard readmission rates are the only ones in this series which show whites to have a pronouncedly unfavorable status as compared with Negroes. Eleven out of 12 comparisons show Negroes to have an appreciably or markedly favorable status with respect to low readmission rates among previously discharged patients. Only in the case of female seniles do whites have a comparatively favorable readmission rate.

B. Comparisons based on differences in medians

In the analysis of the interracial comparisons of this section of the data (Table II) use again will be made of the terms "favorable" and "unfavorable" ratings. "Favorable" ratings would result from (1) comparatively high median ages at first admission—presumably showing a

marked resistance to the initial onset of mental disorders, or inadequate hospitalization facilities or policies, or both; (2) comparatively long periods of hospital residence prior to death—presumably indicating a relatively marked constitutional resistance to the ravages of mental disorders, or preferential therapy, or both; (3) comparatively low death rates—presumably indicating a marked resistance to the initial onset of mental disorder, or a high resistance to the lethal effects of mental disorders, or both.

Of the forty-two interracial comparisons involved in this section of the data, 38 are favorable to whites, while only four are favorable to Negroes. Twenty of the 42 differences have complete statistical reliability, and each of these reliable differences is favorable to whites. Eighteen of the 38 comparisons favorable to whites occur among males, and 20 occur

among females. Three out of the four comparisons favorable to Negroes occur among males and only one among females.

When the two races are compared as to favorable ratings occurring within each of the seven clinical categories, the following distribution is noted: senile—whites, 5; Negroes, 1; cerebral arteriosclerosis—whites, 6; Negroes, none; general paralysis—whites, 4; Negroes, 2; cerebral syphilis—whites, 5; Negroes, 1; manic-depressives—whites, 6; Negroes, none; dementia praecox—whites, 6; Negroes none; all clinical groups—whites, 6; Negroes, none.

Negro paretics of both sexes and Negro male cerebral syphilitics have slightly but unreliably lower median ages at first admission than do whites in the corresponding categories. However, in 11 out of 14 comparisons based on median age at first admission, whites have markedly, and in most cases statistically reliable, older median ages at first admission. The most marked and significant racial differences with respect to age at first admission are found among cerebral arteriosclerotics and manic-depressives of both sexes. Comparatively slight but fairly reliable racial differences, favorable to whites, are found among seniles and schizophrenics.

Only one out of 14 comparisons based on median duration of hospital residence prior to death is favorable to Negroes, and this difference is both small and statistically unreliable. The remaining 13 comparisons are favorable to whites, but only five of these (dementia praecox—both sexes; all clinical groups—both sexes; senile—females) have complete statistical reliability. The racial differences obtained in the case of schizophrenics is enormous, and doubtless has considerable psychiatric and social significance. All of the remaining racial differences in duration of hospital residence are relatively slight.

Each of the 14 interracial comparisons based on median age at death is favorable to whites. Eight of these 14 differences are enormous in size and statistically reliable. The smaller and least reliable racial differences in age at death are found among seniles, paretics and cerebral syphilitics. Worthy of special mention is the marked increase in racial differences in age at death among manic-depressives, schizophrenics and all clinical groups over the corresponding racial differences in age at first admission. That is, among these three clinical groups there is a markedly greater racial difference in age at death than in age at first admission.

C. Comparisons based on differences in percentages

In the analyses of the data given in Table III use again is made of so-called "favorable" and "unfavorable" ratings. "Favorable" ratings result from (1) relatively high percentages of patients discharged as "recovered"—presumably indicating a marked constitutional resiliency to mental disorders, or more adequate hospital treatment, or both; (2) relatively high percentages of patients classified as "improved"—indicating the presence of either or both of the characteristics listed above, but to a lesser extent; (3) relatively low percentages of patients classified as "unimproved"—indicating a generally favorable prognosis.

Of the 40 possible interracial comparisons involved in this section of the data, 24 are favorable to Negroes while only 16 are favorable to whites. Only 15 of these 40 differences in percentages have complete statistical reliability. Ten of these 15 completely reliable differences are favorable to Negroes. Interesting and statistically significant sex differences in therapeutic results are to be noted, as follows: only four out of the 16 comparisons favor-

TABLE III

PERCENTAGES OF WHITES AND NEGROES IN VARIOUS CATEGORIES OF DISCHARGED PATIENTS, BY CLINICAL GROUPS, BY SEX, FOR GEORGIA. 1923-1932

The amount and reliability of 'whites-minus-negroes' differences are indicated at the base of the table. Negative signs indicate that Negroes have a higher percentage in a given category than do whites.

		SENILE	CEREBRAL ARTERIO- SCLEROSIS	GENERAL PARALYSIS	CEREBRAL SYPHILIS	MANIC DEPRES- SIVE	DEMENTIA PRAECOX	ALL CLINICAL GROUPS
Whites								
1a	Percentage of discharged males classified as "recovered"		3.1	3.0	10.0	40.9	1.8	27.8
1b	Percentage of discharged females classified as "recovered"		2.0	7.7	50.0	31.0	5.6	23.2
2a	Percentage of discharged males classified as "improved"	52.4	66.3	73.0	60.0	52.0	69.7	52.0
2b	Percentage of discharged females classified as "improved"	59.1	62.0	76.9		56.9	60.1	56.6
3a	Percentage of discharged males classified as "unimproved"	47.6	30.6	24.0	30.0	7.1	28.5	20.2
3b	Percentage of discharged females classified as "unimproved"	40.9	36.0	15.4	50.0	12.1	34.3	20.2
Negroes								
1a	Percentage of discharged males classified as "recovered"		17.5			20.7	2.6	14.5
1b	Percentage of discharged females classified as "recovered"		5.1		10.0	42.8	9.5	29.1
2a	Percentage of discharged males classified as "improved"	25.0	66.5	58.5	81.8	69.0	51.8	60.7
2b	Percentage of discharged females classified as "improved"	66.7	79.5	77.7	50.0	53.0	75.3	61.2
3a	Percentage of discharged males classified as "unimproved"	75.0	20.0	41.5	18.2	10.3	45.6	24.8
3b	Percentage of discharged females classified as "unimproved"	33.3	15.4	22.3	40.0	4.2	15.2	9.7
"Whites-minus-negroes" comparisons								
1a	W.-N. Diff. in percentage of males "recovered"		-14.4	3.0	10.0	20.2	-0.8	13.3
	Diff. in per cents/Sigma diff. in per cents		2.3			9.2	0.6	10.2
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in per cents		99			100	73	100
1b	W.-N. Diff. in percentage of females "recovered"		-3.1	7.7	40.0	-11.8	-3.9	-5.9
	Diff. in per cents/Sigma diff. in per cents		0.8		1.5	5.1	2.2	4.2
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in per cents		79		93	100	99	100
2a	W.-N. Diff. in percentage of males "improved"	27.4	-0.2	14.5	-21.8	-17.0	17.9	-8.7
	Diff. in per cents/Sigma diff. in per cents	1.1	0.1	1.6	1.1	7.1	4.4	5.4
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in per cents	86	54	94	86	100	100	100

TABLE III—*Concluded*

		SENILE	CEREBRAL ARTERIO- SCLEROSIS	GENERAL PARALYSIS	CEREBRAL SYPHILIS	MANIC DEPRES- SIVE	DEMENTIA PRAECOX	ALL CLINICAL GROUPS
<i>"Whites-minus-negroes" comparisons—Continued</i>								
2b	W.-N. Diff. in percentage of females "improved"	-7.6	-17.5	-0.8	-50.0	3.9	-15.2	-4.6
	Diff. in per cents/Sigma diff. in per cents	0.5	1.9	0.1	3.2	1.7	5.2	3.1
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in per cents	69	97	54	100	96	100	100
3a	W.-N. Diff. in percentage of males "unimproved"	-17.4	10.6	-17.5	11.3	-3.2	-17.1	-4.6
	Diff. in per cents/Sigma diff. in per cents	1.2	1.5	2.0	0.6	2.1	4.3	3.3
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in per cents	88	93	98	73	98	100	100
3b	W.-N. Diff. in percentage of females "unimproved"	7.6	20.6	-6.9	10.0	7.9	19.1	10.5
	Diff. in per cents/Sigma diff. in per cents	0.3	2.3	0.6	0.3	7.2	7.4	9.6
	Chances in 100 of true diff. in per cents	62	99	73	62	100	100	100

able to whites are found among white females whereas 16 out of 24 comparisons favorable to Negroes are found among Negro females. To state the findings differently: it appears that white males are somewhat more favorably responsive to hospital treatment than are Negro males, whereas white females are notably less likely than Negro females to respond favorably to hospital treatment.

The distribution of "favorable" ratings according to clinical groups is as follows: senile—whites, 2; Negroes, 2; cerebral arteriosclerosis—whites, none; Negroes, 6; general paralysis—whites, 5; Negroes, 1; cerebral syphilis—whites, 2; Negroes, 4; Manic-depressive—whites, 3; Negroes, 3; dementia praecox—whites, 2; Negroes, 4; all clinical groups—whites, 2; Negroes, 4. It is thus noted that general paralysis is the only disorder in which whites have an excess of "favorable" over "unfavorable" ratings. Each of the six comparisons among cerebral arteriosclerotics is favorable to Negroes. In the remaining disorders Negroes have an equal or greater number of favorable ratings than whites.

Analyses of favorable and unfavorable ratings according to percentages of patients discharged as "recovered," "improved" or "unimproved" reveal significant racial differences. Although only 6 out of 12 comparisons show whites to have a higher percentage than Negroes of "recovered" patients, the total excess of white percentages (94.2 percent) over Negro percentages (39.9 percent) indicate that whites are somewhat more likely than Negroes to be discharged as "recovered." However, the interracial comparisons based on percentages of patients discharged as "improved" show Negroes to have ten out of 14 favorable ratings. Moreover, the total excess of Negro percentages (143.4 percent) over white percentages (63.7 percent) indicate that Negroes are considerably more likely than whites to be discharged as "improved." Interracial comparisons based on percentages of patients discharged as "unimproved" are favorable to Negroes in 10 out of 14 instances. That is, Negroes are somewhat less likely than whites to be discharged as "unimproved."

The findings summarized above impress the writer as having considerable psychiatric and social significance. They indicate that in Georgia Negro mental patients have a generally unfavorable status as compared with white mental patients. Out of a total of 134 direct interracial comparisons, Negroes compare favorably with whites in only 49 instances. As compared with Georgia whites, Georgia Negroes have high hospitalization rates, notably high death rates and notably low discharge rates. Georgia Negroes are hospitalized at earlier ages, die during shorter periods of hospital residence, and die at much earlier ages, than do Georgia whites. However, Georgia Negroes compare favorably with Georgia whites in having high percentages of discharged patients classified as "recovered" or "improved," and in having low percentages of discharged patients readmitted for further hospital treatment. The apparent rela-

tive superiority of Negroes over whites in these two series of comparisons may be, and probably is, more apparent than real, since the very high death rates of Negroes tend to make discharged Negroes a more highly selected group as to therapeutic prognosis than are discharged whites. To the extent that discharged Negroes are actually a more highly selected group therapeutically than discharged whites the latter comparisons are only spuriously favorable to Negroes.

It is not the province of this paper to generalize concerning the causes of the racial differences, generally favorable to whites, herein reported. It should be said, however, that the present data do not justify the assumption of an unquestioned constitutional inferiority among Negroes; nor do they prove conclusively that Negroes have been subjected to socioeconomic or institutional discrimination prejudicial to mental health.

AN ANALYSIS OF CONTENT IN INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY COURSES*

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AN INTEREST in the nature of introductory courses provides no new theme. At least 43 articles on this topic have appeared in our sociological periodicals since 1920. With only a few exceptions these reviews have been essays in criticism, heavily weighted with implicit or explicit imperatives and well-championed personal judgments. I am reminded that W. F. Ogburn has been quoted as stating, "Sociology is whatever

is taught under that name."¹ The disparity of viewpoints revealed in these articles makes it immediately evident that, nevertheless, there are or have been many approaches or even many sociologies. T. J. Woofter, Jr., writing some years ago, noted quite distinct "approaches" being used in the South.² R. E. Baber identified five quite different introductory course foci: the social prob-

* Read before the third annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 1, 1938.

¹ H. I. McCobb, "A Definition of Sociology Derived from Titles of Courses," *Social Forces*, 10: 335.

² T. J. Woofter, Jr., "The Teaching of Sociology in the South," *Social Forces*, 4: 71-72.

lems emphasis, the social origins and evolution emphasis, the contemporary orientation or survey emphasis, the broadly defined synthesis about "man," and the special science focus built around the analysis of communication, culture, collective behavior, social interaction, and personality.³ The selection of men writing these articles would lead one to believe that among these points of view at least the social problems focus has lost ground. F. E. Hankins has decried those who would make sociology "the pseudo-science of uplift," and he has had strong support.⁴ This trend, however, has not occurred without controversy and the battering of "straw men"—a fact which may illustrate emotional as well as intellectual movements within a "scientific" discipline.⁵

³ R. E. Baber, "A Discussion of the Introductory Course," *Social Forces*, 9: 325-332. The problem of measuring or categorizing such foci accurately has not been solved. L. D. Zeleny, who has been working concurrently on a problem similar to that of this paper, has stated, "It seems almost impossible to summarize the objectives for the first course. But this experience is nothing new. C. C. North in 1933 and Paul Foreman in 1937 had the same difficulty. Foreman gave up the attempt to summarize the objectives and North pondered over the problem until he decided, apparently, to use insight rather than statistics as a research method." L. D. Zeleny, "The First Course in Sociology in State Teachers Colleges in The Midwest States" 1938 (manuscript).

⁴ F. H. Hankins, "Further Suggestions Concerning the Content of the Introductory Course," *Social Forces*, 9: 332-334. See also M. D. Mudgett, "Some Dangers of the Problems Method in Introductory Sociology Courses," *Social Forces*, 8: 509-510.

⁵ E. G. Boring has written brilliantly on the "straw-men" of disciplinary controversy. See his *History of Experimental Psychology*, New York: Century, 1933, and his "Gestalt Psychology and the Gestalt Movement," *American Journal of Psychology*, 42: 308-315. As an illustration applicable here see H. E. Jensen, "Social Methodology and the Teaching of Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42: 543-550 and the Jensen-Lundberg exchange on this article, *American Journal of Sociology*, 42: 714-717.

A review of the contributions made by the later introductory sociology textbook blacksmiths might lead one to assume that, while they still avoid assimilating periodical and monographic research, the disjunctiveness if not the disparity among elementary sociology courses might be decreasing. But before this assumption could be made, it would be necessary to hold a public burning of some of the ancient and perennial tomes still peddled with surprising success by some of our reputable publishers. One of our group reports a memorable shock received last year when in taking over the sociological reins in a recognized Southern college, he found that "elementary sociology" was an undeviating progression through a revised revision of a 1920 textbook, written, with only minor modifications, as an enlargement of a "logical" outline presented in 1905.

The most complete study of the introductory course to appear thus far has been the one presented by the special committee of The American Sociological Society under the chairmanship of C. C. North.⁶ This committee was so constituted that the rather complete division of labor provided, allowed broad coverage in investigation. Among other things, its final report included a list of sixty concepts which the committee believed "students completing the introductory course should be able to understand and use intelligently."⁷ This list was derived by editing a universe of concepts submitted by various instructors.

In making the assignment of the present

⁶ The entire issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* for September 1933 is given to the papers of this committee. A short abstract also appears in *The Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 27: 136-138.

⁷ "Recommendations of the Committee," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 7: 81-82.

study, Chairman W. J. Hayes asked for a current sampling of content and recent registration trends in elementary sociology courses. It was decided that, in carrying forward the work of the above committee, the attempt would be made, wherever possible, to project this effort on a measuring rather than counting inventory.⁸ The aim was not, for example, to sire another "recommended list" of concepts, but was to give some analysis to actual practice in teaching as this might be revealed through ranking judgments by instructors in the field.⁹

The review of content made by this inventory included, in addition to a "free" sampling, 144 concepts arranged on a four-point ("not mentioned," "incidental,"

⁸ Questionnaires were sent to 86 instructors, listed in the *Southern Sociological Society Membership List for 1937*. To obtain a rough out-of-area control, an equivalent number of non-southern instructors, selected from *The American Sociological Society Membership List for 1937*, were invited to participate. Fifty instructors, representing 36 institutions in the southern group, and 61 instructors, representing 40 institutions in the control group responded. Among these replies, 46 in the former group and 59 in the latter were sufficiently complete for tabulation. Schedules from Stetson University, Sweet Briar College, Talladega (Ala.) College, Fisk University, La Grange (Ga.) College, Colgate, Michigan, The University of Cincinnati, one from Bucknell and two from Northwestern are not included in these groups. They arrived after tabulations were completed.

⁹ Misunderstanding at this point led several of my peers, viewing the schedule to remonstrate, challenge, or warn (Sorokin: "My course is a *system* of sociology, not a hodge-podge"; E. Faris, S. A. Queen, W. E. Gettys, etc.). I am well aware that judgement and practice may not correlate. While I assume full responsibility for the final definition of this study, W. J. Hayes, I. V. Shannon, Delbert Mann, B. J. Doyle (a member of the North committee), and L. M. Brooks offered valuable suggestions during the stages of its planning. For most valued assistance in the tedious hand tabulation necessary to present the meagre data listed in the following paragraphs, I am indebted to my students: Rosa Healy, Julien Tatum, Landon Smith, and L. O. Coggin, Jr.

"important," "mandatory") scale.¹⁰ The distribution of scores on this scale were tallied for replies from southern instructors, for a non-southern control group, and for a special list of those instructors in the southern list and the non-southern control representing colleges and universities listing M.A. and Ph.D. theses in *The American Journal of Sociology* in the period since 1930. A mean value for each concept was derived by assigning arbitrary (0, 1, 3, 5) weights to the four sub-categories listed.

Assuming that the concepts receiving weighted mean values of 3.00 or more form a list including those believed by the judges to be the most essential in the controlled sampling, this catalogue has been isolated for special reference. Judges in all three tally groups (southern, non-southern control, and the special group representing schools offering advanced degrees in sociology) assigned values of this order to the following forty-six concepts:

accommodation, attitudes, class, collective behavior, communication, community, conflict, cultural areas, cultural assimilation, cultural borrowing, cultural pattern, cultural transmission, custom, diffusion, disorganization, economic competition, folkways, habits, human nature, individual, ingroup, interactional competition, invention, isolation, lag, language, mobility, mores, migration, person, personality, prejudice, primary groups, propaganda, public opinion, race, segregation, social contact,

¹⁰ Not all of the 60 concepts appearing in the North committee's recommended list were included in the 144 controlled concepts on this schedule. In the preparation of this list, North's selection and some 300 other concepts, taken from 14 elementary sociology texts were alphabetically arranged. The list was then cut to final size with the end in view of *preparing a sampling sufficiently broad to cover the definitions of focus outlined by Baber (see note 4)*. "Cultural drag" appearing on the schedule was not tabulated, since it was changed by several to "cultural lag" (which also appeared on the schedule as "lag"). Hence the reporting group totals 143.

social distance, social institutions, social interaction, social situations, social status, social stratification, social values, traditions.

To this list, the southern instructors would add:

amalgamation, delinquency, education, heredity, imitation, instincts, law, leadership, mass movements, mobs, mutual aid, neighborhood, original nature, population pressure, standards of living, taboos.

TABLE I
THIRTY-EIGHT SOCIOLOGICAL CONCEPTS LISTED
MORE THAN FIVE TIMES BY SIXTY-FOUR
INSTRUCTORS

CONCEPTS	NUMBER OF TIMES MEN- TIONED
Social control	24
Cooperation	18
Social change	15
Culture, social organization	14
Association, ecology (and social ecology), group, religion (and religious institu- tions), secondary groups, sects (and sectarianism)	11
Adaption, cultural change, evolution	10
Acculturation, consensus, science, war	9
Social adjustment, social differentiation, social evolution, socialization, fertility, cultural complex	8
Cultural trait, marriage, geographic en- vironment, self, social disorganization, social heritage	7
Conventions, definition of situation, family, marginal man, revolution, social process, superorganic, urbanization	6

The instructors in the non-southern control group would add:

crowds, ecological invasion, ethnocentrism, interactional assimilation, metropolitan areas, progress, rôles, social unrest.

And the instructors in schools offering advanced degrees in sociology would add:

amalgamation, caste, crime, crowds, delinquency, divorce, ecological invasion, education, ethnocentrism, imitation, industrial revolution, interactional

assimilation, law, leadership, mass movements, metropolitan areas, mutual aid, natural areas, original nature, population pressure, progress, rôles, social forces, taboos.

The most obvious immediate notation to be made upon viewing the content of the above general catalogue, and to a lesser degree the particular additional lists, is that concepts which serve to typify "social problems" sociology are conspicuous by their absence. The "problems" concepts included in the controlled selection were ranked low quite uniformly in the three tally series and no significant differences in the judgments of their value among these series appear.

Instructors were also asked to list any concepts which they believed were important in the context of elementary sociology, but which were not included in the rating scale. This was an invitation for a deluge. Thirty southern instructors contributed 233 different extra terms; thirty-four instructors in the out of area control presented 245 extra terms. In all, the sixty-four instructors responding suggested 383 different concepts. Only thirty-eight of these appeared more than five times. This abbreviated list, which is given in Table I with the number of times each was mentioned, also places little emphasis on typical "social problems" concepts.

Having presented this information, it is necessary to add that the mere ranking of concepts is at best only a rough and atomistic index of content. We may, for example, stress the idea of progress in entirely different ways. Concept are not holy; they are merely derived symbols for phenomena. It is very probably true that the frame of reference in which concepts are employed is equally or more important in introductory sociology than the concepts considered severally. The best statement of this position was in-

cluded in a letter from Stuart A. Queen, who writes:

It is difficult to make a schedule of this type, or perhaps of any sort, give a true picture of one's course. . . . This is no doubt a legitimate way of getting at the content of various courses, but suggests the kind of a course that many of us were giving a few years ago. This consisted in a large part of definitions and illustrations of various concepts. At the present I am much more interested in making students aware of certain social groups and institutions and processes, to which we do indeed attach names. Our interest, however, is in the concrete reality and such generalizations as may be made about it. I call the students' attention to the fact that often there are several different concepts applied by different sociologists to the same facts. . . . *I stress my belief that the important thing is to find concepts which will be useful in dealing with reality, but (in this) so make concepts instruments rather than fundamental objects of study.*¹¹

It is quite a different position which another instructor assumes:

I believe that elementary sociology should deal directly with specific social problems and less with the so-called social concepts as defined by technical sociologists.

The one view would use concepts as means not ends, the other would—I wonder how—deal with social experience—social problems “directly.” Aside from the point that “direct” experience belabors a nice problem in logic, to accept the general meaning of the second point of view,

¹¹ Italics mine. See also E. G. Boring, *The Physical Dimensions of Consciousness*; New York: Century, 1933, esp. pp. vii, 6-9; E. E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, New York: Heath, 1931, pp. 26-35 *et passim*.

Zeleny has stated an interesting thesis in maintaining that many elementary sociology texts display poor pedagogical groundings in reference to what is known about learning (and forgetting). This is done by including too broad a scope of materials in which the capital facts and key theses are not underlined in emphasis and, particularly with reference to teacher's college students, by not recognizing the facts that students from widely variant socio-economic backgrounds are not equally benefited by a “standard” exposure to subject matter. L. D. Zeleny, *op. cit.*

this might be a trifle embarrassing in some cases.

The only contribution to be made by group analysis of concepts—granted that the nature of the scale itself, the given selection of concepts, and the assumptions of the method of analysis used may factor these conclusions—is to point out a rough composite profile of the judgments of included instructors. This might give each of us some inference of the pattern, and when compared with previous studies of content, a trend in emphasis. It has not been possible to subject these schedules to even a rudimentary individual scoring. But, merely as an observation derived from spot checking, I believe it would be possible through such means to isolate at least seven instructors, all in our own southern group, who have either not been exposed to formal training in sociology; or if so, show no signs of its having taken. The most glaring example was one, who in ranking the eighteen highest value concepts, as marked by the southern group of instructors, listed eleven as “not mentioned” and four as “incidental.” I maintain it was not a perverted sense of humor which led me to random check through the southern group only to find five instructors, who in ranking “birth control” and “contraception,” listed one as mandatory, the other as incidental!

The schedule asked for several secondary facts concerning course organization. It was impossible to tabulate any order in progressive subsections in these courses. Eleven instructors cited either a text or the order of topics or chapters in the textbook they happened to be using. As two mentioned, this practice may lend a coherency to a course, which wide sampling, as poorly articulated by topics as our texts are, would defeat. Sixty-three listed major divisions of their courses, but it was impossible to tabulate them in series because

of overlapping. Any editing on my part would have distorted the picture.¹² Again, tabulations are not presented on the year level or number of term hours allowed for elementary sociology. In this we seem to be fairly well standardized. Practically all elementary courses were listed on the sophomore year level; the length of the course depends on the particular organization of the school, but by far the most frequent period of instruction is for three year hours.¹³

Baber in reporting on use of textbooks thought it appropriate to include this jingle:

Breathes there a prof with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said—
I'll write a textbook of my own.¹⁴

Textbook adoptions reviewed in this study were tabulated by schools. Instructors in ten schools, five in the southern group and five in the non-southern control, either did not report texts or use their own private syllabi. In all thirty-four texts

¹² In fact these items were tallied, but when the totals were struck, I noticed that the five subsections of my own course, (communication, culture and social organization, the community and human ecology, collective behavior and social interaction, personality) were—even with the second and fourth sections tabulated separately—among the eight highest ranking sub-classifications. Considering the editing I had done, I think this result might have been more representative of my own cultural compulsives than of the items scored.

¹³ This is essentially the same condition reported by F. S. Chapin about ten years ago. See his "Sociology and Sociology I.," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, 10: 416-417. It is interesting to note, however, that the faculty at Vanderbilt University has been considering changing their three hour year series courses to five hour trimester courses. A five hour semester plan would allow a more efficient use of faculty teaching time at the University of Mississippi and might offer a solution for the problems of mid-year transfers who according to the present system must, if they register immediately, enroll first for the second half of the year series.

¹⁴ R. E. Baber, *op. cit.*

were named, nineteen of which appeared in the list more than once. Table 2 sum-

TABLE 2
ELEMENTARY SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOK ADOPTIONS
REPORTED BY INSTRUCTORS IN 76 UNIVERSITIES
AND COLLEGES IN THE UNITED STATES, DECEMBER,
1937
(Showing only those reported more than once)

TEXTS	TOTAL	SOUTHERN SCHOOLS	NON-SOUTHERN SCHOOLS
Sutherland and Woodward, <i>Introductory Sociology</i> , 1937.....	16	6	10
Dawson and Gettys, <i>Introduction to Sociology</i> (1929) 1935.....	8		8
Young, <i>Introductory Sociology</i> , (1934).....	7	4	3
MacIver, <i>Society</i> (1931) 1937.....	6	1	5
Bogardus, <i>Sociology</i> , 1934.....	4	3	1*
Gillette and Reinhardt, <i>Current Social Problems</i> , (1933) 1937.....	4	2	2
Gillin and Blackmar, <i>Outlines of Sociology</i> (1915) 1930.....	4	3	1
Gillin, Dittmer, and Colbert, <i>Social Problems</i> , 1928.....	3		3
Groves, <i>Introduction to Sociology</i> , 1928	3	3	
Hiller, <i>Principles of Sociology</i> , 1933...	3	2	1
Reuter and Hart, <i>Introduction to Sociology</i> , 1933.....	3	1	2
Bossard, <i>Problems of Social Well Being</i> (1927) 1938.....	2		2
Cooley, Angell, and Carr, <i>Introductory Sociology</i> , 1933.....	2	1	1
Dow, <i>Society and its Problems</i> (1920) 1937.....	2		2
Elliott and Merrill, <i>Social Disorganization</i> , 1934.....	2		2
Queen, Bodenhafer, and Harper, <i>Social Organization and Social Disorganization</i> , 1935.....	2		2
Hankins, <i>An Introduction to the Study of Society</i> (1929) 1935.....	2	1	1
Ross, <i>Outlines of Sociology</i> , 1923....	2	1	1
Ross, <i>Principles of Sociology</i> (1920) 1930.....	2	1	1

marizes these reported adoptions for the Southern and out of area control colleges.

An effort was also made to study recent trends in registration in elementary so-

ciology courses. Believing that a mere tabulation of total registration over a given period—particularly the 1930's—might be grossly inaccurate, certainly if appreciable changes occurred in the numbers of students registered in the institutions in the chosen base years, an effort was made to gather data on the total number of student credit hours earned in elementary sociology for the school years 1934-1935, 1935-1936, and 1936-1937 and the total undergraduate registration in the reporting colleges during these years. The aim, of course, was to compute registration trends through an index derived from these two variables. However, the information obtained was both limited and in many instances obviously inaccurate. No effort, therefore, is made to review these findings.¹⁵

As a review of the findings of this attempt to catalogue the introductory course in sociology, these points seem most important:

1. This review of concepts seems to indicate that symbols associated with the "social problems" focus, if examples included in Table 1 are representative, are now judged (at least by these instructors) to be less important in elementary sociology than symbols indicating an emphasis on culture, social interaction, and collective behavior. This conclusion is derived both from tallies made on the controlled list of concepts and from the most popular extra concepts presented in an uncontrolled sampling.

2. While no thorough effort has been made to compare the concept rankings on individual schedules with the mean values of concepts assigned by the groups represented, mere spot checking indicates that in some instances judgments deviate widely.

3. This attempt was not successful in an effort to

isolate or order the major sub-categories of elementary sociology courses.

4. The use of textbooks shows no emphatic concentration, the four most popular texts cited being ones which stress what Baber has called a "special science" focus.

5. This attempt was not successful in an effort to determine registration trends.

In planning the program of this section on teaching sociology, Chairman Hayes last spring circulated a mimeographed announcement, which, concerning the elementary course, stated:

A few facts point to the possibility of confused and uncertain objectives, wide variation in content and emphasis in courses carrying the same titles, little agreement and uniformity concerning basic and elementary courses, and vagueness or absence of standards of achievement in college courses in sociology. Something of this condition was shown in the findings of a committee from the national society a few years ago. Transfer students with credits in sociology are continually impressing these facts upon the faculties of the colleges and universities which receive them. It is especially important that the introductory course lay down a known and dependable foundation. If some institutions give a course in social philosophy or social ethics as "Introductory Sociology" while others attempt to give the students concepts and tools for analyzing social phenomena, we may have foundations—but not for science nor for sociology.

An analysis of the individual schedules upon which this paper is based, or—more aptly—the preparation of one designed to deal more directly with "objectives," might emphasize such disagreement. In some degree such a finding might be the sign of vigorous growth. I once received a letter from Ellsworth Faris, which contained this phrase: "Concepts—or for that matter, disciplines—are shaped not so much by will and wont as by what Cooley meant by 'becoming' . . ."¹⁶ This

¹⁵ As a matter of administrative policy, I should think it might be wise for the national society, regional societies, or both cooperatively, to gather such data periodically. We hear much about "the trend toward the social sciences." If this is objectively demonstrable in sociology in particular schools and as an area or national trend, these facts might carry much weight in preparing plans for departmental expansion.

¹⁶ An excellent development of this same thesis appears in E. G. Boring, "The Problem of Originality in Science," *American Journal of Psychology*, 39: 70-90 and in passing in Boring's *History of Experimental Psychology*, *op. cit.*

reasoning is to some extent applicable here. There are instances of profound methodological differences between members in the guild, but E. L. Thorndike had a point when, in a critical exchange over an article, he stated: "... Our present disagreements are healthy if they keep us at work."¹⁷

But certainly it would be hard to explain some of the disorganization which is commonly attributed to contemporary sociology to its youthful "vigor." F. N. House has shown us our discipline is not so very young, after all.¹⁸ The answer might again be found in lethargy—or in the fact that because we have no defined standards, the discipline is easy prey for poseurs. "Sociology" is now taught even in our smaller schools, if for no other reason than because the name at least has been assigned enough status to make it a welcome member in the offerings outlined by administrators. Colleges, like the Smiths, must keep up with the Joneses. If Louisiana State, North Carolina, Vanderbilt, Fisk, and our other larger southern schools offer sociology, why shouldn't the little colleges? This apparent line of reasoning has been indelibly impressed on my mind. Last year in the course of revising our offerings at Ole Miss, the entire list of catalogue announcements was changed. In catalogue-editing season this spring, I have received no less than five letters from junior colleges and small private institutions, all of which ran about like this one:

I note that you have revised your courses recently. . . . Will you please send me a list of the textbooks you are now using. I am particularly interested in the textbooks you use in *Introductory Sociology* and

Criminology and the one Dr. Maclachlan uses in *Contemporary Southern Culture*. . . .

Interpreting as best I could the in-group code, I have sent out text lists to my friends, but I could not resist adding that the selection of handbooks might not be such a weighty problem for trained personnel.

This brings into focus an interesting situation. Smaller schools in our area, because of limited faculty and little if any funds, must—to keep up with the Joneses—expand professorial chairs into academic settees. Too frequently the result seems to be that anybody who has had "a couple of courses"—(maybe), and who is willing to work for the wages offered, regardless of other qualifications, can become a "sociologist." The result is obvious. To date my path in Mississippi has crossed with those of seven students registering for *graduate* work, who looked quite blank when I probed about by mentioning such odd things as "cultural lags." It seems to me that wherever such training as these students had received exists, the result can only create an opinion which underscores the contempt which some of our colleagues in the physical and biological sciences have for the social—but not the natural—sciences.

I have checked over the catalogues of the five schools from which requests for information on texts came to me. The turnover in their faculties has been astounding. I am wondering why some of the heads of the departments in our advanced degree granting schools have not gone quietly about establishing relationships with the administrators in these schools so that when jobs fall open or can be created, granted that these institutions cannot pay doctoral salaries, they can be filled by doctoral candidates who need experience and financial aid to finish doc-

¹⁷ E. L. Thorndike, "Rejoinder," *American Journal of Sociology*, 42: 559-560.

¹⁸ F. N. House, *The Development of Sociology*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936.

toral training? This should benefit everybody: the schools would get better teaching, the graduate departments would have more openings—some of them worth developing; the embryonic pedagogues, researchers, or occasionally (we hope) both in one, could cut their eye teeth. And then, to others the inference might be cathartic.

Again, since only a few in the group do stand out as being extremely deviate, might it not be wise for the Southern Sociological Society, following the example set by our southern psychologists a few years ago, to define general standards for instruction which would encourage some elementary steps toward creating a more defensible uniformity among us? If so, how should this committee proceed: by establishing minimum training standards for instructors, by attempting to define minimum content standards for such courses, or in some other way?

Would it be advisable since so many of our schools have limited library facilities, for this Society to create a committee to provide standard minimum source lists for elementary course use; these to include, for example, a review of periodical literatures—technical and otherwise—for topic readings, a review of apt illustrative semi-popular volumes, and basic texts and collateral readings?

Or should we, as committees have done

before, simply fold up and trust to the benevolence of Acts of God to send us more adequately trained sociologists and more definitive sociologies?¹⁹

¹⁹ In his able discussions of this paper, Professor Lee M. Brooks, University of North Carolina, said, in part:

"To minimize the importance of sociological concepts as a medium of exchange is to encourage the barter of loose ideas and to confuse the study of sociology. The beginning student particularly needs at least a pocketful of well-worn coins of the realm before he can draw on the great sociological systematizers. Let him sire it or not, Professor Foreman has set forth a minimum of some seventy concepts that should be understood and used by students properly 'introduced' to sociology. How else can they get off to a respectable start? It may be, however, that Professor Foreman is unduly hard on those believing in the problem approach when they do not undervalue the propriety of concepts. The Southern Sociological Society might well do something about reasonable standards in terminology. Careful departments can be exacting with transfer students, but they are only a small percentage of the confused and abused.

Related to carelessness in concept is the tendency for too many college officials to consider opinionology as sociology with too much 'teaching' done as though they were synonymous. The clean-up process here will probably be slow.

After all, concepts and methods and textbooks are but means to the end that we really teach, not a subject, but students. They will assimilate sociological essentials under leadership that respects basic concepts, facts, and mechanics. Professor Foreman's findings should induce patient but firm action toward flexible conformity of content in introductory sociology.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Social Science Research Council offers for 1939-1940 grants-in-aid of research to Southern social scientists in economics; social, economic and political history; political science; social psychology; sociology; cultural anthropology; statistics; and social aspects of related disciplines.

These grants are available to mature scholars, without reference to age, who possess the Ph.D. or whose capacity for productive research has been effectively demonstrated by published work. They are offered by the Council for the purpose of assisting members of the staffs of colleges and universities in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. They are designed to aid in completing rather than in initiating projects. They are not open to candidates for a degree. Applicants may not apply simultaneously for other awards by the Council.

The purposes for which the grants may be expended include the investigator's living expenses while in the field; travel involved in the investigation; stenographic, clerical, or statistical assistance; stationery and photostating. Such grants are not to be used for travel to attend scientific

meetings, or to purchase books, manuscript materials, or laboratory apparatus. They may not be given to aid in the publication of manuscripts.

Preference will be given to applicants who can offer assurance that the institution to which the applicant is attached will lend its cooperation in the event that an award is made by the Council. This cooperation may include such items as reduction of the applicant's teaching load, relief from committee and other routine duties, and supplementary grants.

The maximum award to an individual will not exceed \$500.

The closing date for the receipt of application for 1939-40 on forms provided by the Grants-in-Aid Secretary is January 5, 1939. Grants will be announced April 1, 1939. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the Grants-in-Aid Secretary, Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City. *In making initial inquiry, please indicate previous research experience, nature of project, and amount of aid required, as application blanks may not be released without this information.*

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

POTENTIALITIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO ADJUST*

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THE word adjustment is synonymous with life. At the moment that the ovum is impregnated with the sperm and a new individual life started adjustment begins. This, it is true, is a purely biological adjustment. This aspect of adjustment continues throughout life. When biological adjustment ends life is over. Complete failure of physical adjustment is death. The struggle of the organism to adapt to its physical environment means in its simplest form the taking of nutriment from that environment and the combating of the harmful influences such as toxins and injury from physical forces acting upon the organism.

Life in utero is life at its simplest—life in the most protected environment—temperature constant and nourishment without explicit effort on the part of the individual. At the moment of birth environment becomes more complex and increases in complexity as time goes on. At the moment of birth the respiratory apparatus must adjust to the external air. Food in a new form is met. This requires a new set of adjustive reactions. But even in these primitive and first positive reactions there are injected other than

strictly objective physical factors into the environment. Frequently even the breathing apparatus must be aided in its first adjustive functioning by the attending physician. In the taking of food contact of nipple with lips is aided by the mother or nurse. The infant begins then to secure needed physical conditions through the administrations of others. A next step involves the infant's obtaining of such physical conditions indirectly, through its overt behavior affecting the behavior of adults in its environment. For the first few weeks or months we have social environment in its simplest form and the simplest of all possible social adjustments taking place on the part of the infant.

Throughout life, as we have already suggested, biological or physical adjustment is of paramount importance. Its simplest aspects are always expressed in the securing of food and the escaping of pain or the escaping of injuries of which pains are the signs. It is only in the very simplest animal forms that these adjustments remain strictly biological. In the higher animal forms these biological adjustments are dependent upon adjustments to other individuals of the same group and of other groups of higher and lower orders. In bees, wasps, and ants,

* Read before the Public Welfare Institute, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, October 20, 1937.

these social adjustments are of considerable importance. In humans this factor is of the greatest significance and biological adjustments always assume important social aspects. These aspects are expressed in the problems of economics and health.

What we have so far said suggests that all the different professional groups existing today have developed as a result of needs of individuals for aid in the making of their adjustments. Each of the professions is devoted entirely (in its strictly professional expression) to the giving of such adjustive aid. Medicine, it is apparent, is devoted primarily to aiding biological adjustment. Yet if biological adjustment is aided or hindered by social adjustment as it always is, the really successful physician can never ignore this aspect. The legal profession is the direct outgrowth of the conflicting of adjustive behavior of one individual or one group with the adjustive behavior of other individuals or groups. Here the adjusting behavior may be primarily either biological or social, although never purely the one or the other.

Some individuals, incorrectly called social workers, merely dispense food, clothes, and other physical necessities; merely aiding biological adjustment at its most primitive level. The indiscriminate issuing of old age assistance without a study of the needs of the recipients and of their ability to meet these needs through the assistance is a pertinent concrete example from some current procedures. The one who has a right to the name of social worker is the one who studies the individual's physical needs in the light of their origin in personal inadequacies of physical or social adjustment; or as the result of environmental conditions that need correcting. Such a worker recognizes the importance to social adjustment

of biological integrity and security and at the same time the importance of social adjustments to the obtaining of these biological ends, contributing to human adjustments at the highest possible level. The social worker and, as well, the worker in each of the other professional groups is most successful only when he understands the fundamental or all inclusive nature of adjustment; when he understands that individual clients have different potential adjusting capacities; and when he understands the nature of, or reason for, these limitations.

The physician understands the point we have previously made, that complete failure in biological adjustment means death and also that partial failure means disease or injury. He realizes that individuals vary in their organic capacity to adjust to physical difficulties. He studies the causes, the nature of inherent inadequacies and the nature of the inadequacies that have been acquired through faulty adjustive habits, as, for instance, the attempt to escape pain through the use of narcotics. The form in which his aid to adjustment is given is determined by what he finds.

In the same way the social worker must understand that partial failure in social adjustment means some degree of incompetence in work, in recreation, in satisfaction in many or all of the relationships of the individual to his environment. He must understand that complete failure in social adjustment means a psychosis. He also studies causes. Through his own efforts and through the assistance of specialists he seeks to determine whether there may be any inherent basis for inadequacies of adjustment and the nature and causes of acquired inadequacies.

Both the physician and the social worker recognize the interdependence of the two adjustive tendencies, the bio-

logical and the social. Both recognize their own need for help from other sciences and other professional groups, especially perhaps from educators, economists, and psychologists. It is the psychologists who have specialized more than any other group upon the nature of normal and abnormal behavior, and the nature of the mechanisms underlying attempts at adjustive behavior.

Up to this point we have tried to emphasize three things about adjustments: first, their all embracing nature; second, that they are fundamentally biological, that is, involved in maintaining life. We might add that they tend to maintain racial life as well as individual life; third, that they become social as the obtaining of biological needs is dependent upon other individuals.

Before discussing the main problem—that of the individual's potentiality for adjusting, we must add certain pertinent facts:

1. The securing of biological needs at the most primitive levels results either in the escape from pain or the obtaining of positive pleasurable results.

2. The more advanced levels of biological adjustment may entail present pain or a sacrifice of present satisfaction in order to secure future needs or remote satisfactions.

3. At a still higher level, through experience, (training, formal or informal) needs develop that are indirectly rather than directly biologically significant. They are thus significant because their satisfaction is essential to the normal biological efficiency of the organism and, since their securing involves an enriched behavior repertoire, they make for an increased flexibility of response. I am referring here primarily to cultural needs, including the aesthetic. Dissatisfaction through failure to secure such developed needs may interfere with primitive bio-

logical functionings such as those of digestion and elimination, and with a more complex social-biological functioning expressed, as for example, in terms of industrial efficiency.

We are now ready to state the first principle bearing upon the question of an individual's potentiality for adjustment. It is very clear that that potentiality must depend upon—that is, be limited by—the innate nature or structure of the organism. A single one-celled animal like the amoeba has very limited potentiality for adjustment. Its responses are practically limited to moving away from, or toward, or maintaining contact with, relatively simple stimuli. We might go up step by step from this lowly form to man, showing how each successive complexity in the structure of an organism has been accompanied by a greater potentiality for adjustment to increasingly complex variations in environment. This procedure would take too long. The point can, however, be made clear by one or two contrasts between a dog and man. Compare the things a man can do with his fingers with what a dog can do with his toes, or the much richer variations possible in the vocal reactions of a man dependent upon his more elaborate vocal apparatus.

These things, indicating that potentiality for adjustment is dependent upon the complexity of the gross physical structure of the organism, are very evident. However, there is in all but the very low forms of animal life a finer structure that is not so directly observable in its relation to behavior. This is the neural system. Its variations and complexities are so marked and so definitely correlated with limitation in adjustment reactions that when we compare its simplest forms with the more complex the relationship is again quite clear.

In man, minute variations in neural structure discovered only through careful microscopic techniques, when considered in relation to experimental studies of behavior show again very definite correlation of complexity of structures with varying capacity for adequate adjusting to problem situations. In order to clearly show that this is true I am going to cite two experimental studies.

In 1911 Dr. G. V. Hamilton¹ secured results in an experiment with what is called a multiple choice apparatus. The apparatus consisted of a room having an entrance door which was automatically closed and locked after the experimental subject was placed in the room. There were equidistant from this entering door, four exit doors identical in appearance with the entrance door. Each time a subject was placed in this room all but one of the four exit doors was locked. Which door should be unlocked was a matter of pure chance with the exception that a door which was unlocked in one trial was never the unlocked door in the succeeding trial. That was the only thing that could be learned by a subject after he had had several trials. It was impossible for him to learn which was the right door.

Hamilton's subjects adjusted to this situation with five different degrees of adequacy. The most adequate type of behavior was, of course, the one in which after a few trials the subject had learned never to try to leave the room by means of the door by which he had escaped on the preceding trial, and at the same time never to try anyone of the other three doors more than once. Hamilton suggested that this sort of behavior shows the presence of rational inference. The type

of response that came next in point of adequacy was that in which each of the four doors was tried but once. Hamilton described this as showing an "unmodified searching tendency."

The next three inferior types all gave evidence of stereotyped forms of behavior. The only one we need to consider in detail is the poorest type of response. Here the subject tried again and again to escape from some one or more locked doors rather than trying each door but once. Hamilton referred to this type as showing "automatism" or an "unmodified primitive tendency to repeat an activity."

Hamilton was interested in comparing the reactions of different phyla and of different ages or levels of maturity within a given phylum. We are only going to present the parts of his results that are particularly pertinent to the point we are considering. Comparing normal human subjects of an average age of fourteen years with a forty-five year old feeble-minded man and a twenty-six months old normal infant, he found that the percentages of the superior types of rational adjustive behavior for the three groups were 76, 48, and 16. For the second level of adjustive behavior percentages were 20, 52, and 5. The percentages for the most inferior or primitive types of behavior were .44 percent, none, and 34 percent.

We must next consider these results in connection with known facts concerning comparative brain structure. Scientists who have studied the minute cellular structure of the brain have shown that the portions of the brain involved in the more intricate and elaborate forms of thinking and behavior are markedly less adequately developed in the feeble-minded than in people with normal intelligence. They have also shown that these same portions of the brain have reached a much less complete stage of development by the end

¹ G. V. Hamilton: "A Study of Trial and Error Reactions in Mammals," *Journal of Animal Behavior*, 1911, No. 1.

of the first two or three years of life than when the individual has reached physical maturity.

We are justified from the correlation of these two types of data (the experimental data of Hamilton and the brain structure data) in concluding that the superior rational adjusting capacity of normal boys as compared with that of feeble-minded adults, and again of the feeble-minded adult as compared with that of the infant, is definitely correlated with the degree of adequacy of cortical neural equipment.

We also seem justified in generalizing that an individual's potentiality for adjustment is dependent in the first place upon an innate potentiality for brain neural development plus the degree of development that has actually taken place. In a given individual the amount of development that has taken place is dependent upon his level of physical maturity and upon the favorable or unfavorable physical conditions, such as food supply, toxic substances, and physical injuries accompanying that development.

About ten years ago James R. Patrick,² a graduate student in the Department of Psychology at the University of North Carolina, used a slight modification of Hamilton's apparatus in an experiment with college boys. He also used two different sets of experimental conditions. In the first or control experiment Hamilton's procedure was duplicated save for some slight changes in the apparatus for the purpose of adapting it to the size of adults. In the second experiment each of the subjects was subjected each time he was attempting to discover the unlocked exit door to one of three disturbing

or irritating conditions. These conditions were the loud honking of an automobile horn attached to the wall of the room; a cold shower sprayed from the top of the room; or painful electrical stimulation from a grid in the floor of the room.

Comparing the group whose attempts to find the unlocked door were free from emotional or irritating conditions with the group whose attempts were accompanied by such disturbing conditions, Patrick's data showed that the former group had 70 percent of the best or rational type of response as contrasted with 19 percent for the disturbed group; 24 percent of the second level of adequacy of response as contrasted with 12 percent for the disturbed group; and only 3½ percent of the inferior, primitive type of behavior as contrasted with 45 percent of such behavior for the disturbed group. These results clearly indicate that emotionally disturbing elements in a situation interfere with the adequacy of adjusting behavior. Patrick pointed out that these individuals—supposedly normal adults—were reduced by the emotion inducing stimuli to the level of infants in their adjusting behavior.

These experimental results raise another important point. When we compare the behavior of each of the six individuals within the group who were subjected to the disturbing stimulation we find that the percentage of rational behavior varied from 6 percent in the case of one boy to 36 percent in the case of another. In like manner the percentage of primitive or automatic behavior varied from 28 percent in the case of the boy least affected to 64 percent in the case of the boy most affected. These six individuals quite clearly had different potentialities for adjusting to emotionally disturbing situations.

²James R. Patrick: "Studies in Rational Behavior and Emotional Excitement," *The Journal of Comparative Psychology*, Vol. 18, No. 1, August 1934, and No. 2, October 1934.

We have previously stated that adequacy of adjustment is dependent upon adequacy or complexity of the actual physical neural equipment which in turn varies innately from individual to individual and also differs at different age or maturity levels. In Patrick's experiment we have equally mature and supposedly equally complex neural systems, yet these neural systems functioned with different degrees of adequacy when subjected to adverse situations. In this experiment individual variation and potentiality for adjustment were objectively measured by degree of change in adequacy of behavior when the obtaining of goals was interfered with by the need to react to other sources of stimulation.

Exactly the same conditions exist in everyday life and exactly the same variations are found. These data are not, however, capable of being measured in the same objective manner. The fact remains that adjustive inadequacy tends to occur in daily life when one group of reaction tendencies are in some way thwarted or interfered with.

Is this sort of functional variation innate or acquired? Evidence is not conclusive nor have we the time to consider it in a detailed, scientific manner. We must be content to summarize what seem to be the facts, as follows:

Potential functional adjustive adequacy of neural systems leading to a lesser or greater loss in rational behavior when conditions are unfavorable may be slightly dependent upon a chemical constitution of the elements of the neural system underlying what is called general instability.

Studies of identical twins raised in different environments point to this conclusion but also indicate the strong influence of environment. All the actual clinical evidence that I have accumulated over a number of years of dealing with adjustment difficulties has pointed overwhelmingly to the preponderance of the environment factor in determining the functional adequacy of the adjustment mechanisms. More than this, the clinical evidence has convinced me that the particular patterns of adjusting behavior, whether inferior or superior, are the direct result of the experiences to which the individual has been subjected. The fundamental principle that determines the adjustment patterns seems to be, without question, that of their success or failure. The individual tries various methods of overcoming difficulties and obtaining desired ends. The methods that succeed are used again and again. They thus become established habit adjustive patterns. The environment that prevents the obtaining of success through the use of inferior methods produces the individual who has superior adjustive mechanisms.

To summarize: The potentialities of any individual to adjust are determined by the adequacy of the neural system which he inherits, plus the degree of maturity that has been possible under the existing physical environment, plus the training to which he has been subjected. Limited capacity to adjust may result from defective neural equipment as found in the individual who is defective in general intelligence and from inadequate training of this equipment.

Duke University: Professor Charles A. Ellwood has taken a sabbatical leave of absence as Chairman of the Department of Sociology in Duke University for the second semester. Professor Howard E. Jensen will be Chairman in his place. Professor Ellwood has planned a cruise to South America and is scheduled to teach two courses in Sociology in the University of California at Los Angeles this summer from June 26 to August 5.

THE PROFESSION OF SOCIAL WORK IN THE SOUTH*

STUART K. JAFFARY

Tulane University

A CONSIDERATION of social work in the South is benefited by a brief, orienting glance at its development in the nation. This now lusty child, born at the turn of the century, was forced to meet, almost in infancy, the strenuous experiences of a great war and a catastrophic depression. Surviving both it seems to have thrived on each. From the scattered and hesitant beginnings of C.O.S., settlements, and state institutions, the profession now finds itself engaged in conducting a range of social services so varied, so broad, so large, and so new as to be at the same time inspiring in purpose and activity but awesome in public responsibility.

It is with the rapid developments of the past decade that we are now particularly concerned. The great flood of unemployment and related distress of the depression years found the nation poorly equipped to meet it. We lacked any first line of defense such as is now being built up by the reserves of unemployment insurance. The load of human need growing out of unemployment fell with overwhelming force on the private family welfare agencies of the cities; only tardily did help come from local and state governments. And, finally, urged by the mounting distress of unrelieved human suffering, came the acceptance of national responsibility for this national problem—but not without many a creak and groan, and not yet securely acknowledged at Washington.

In dealing with the human needs arising out of unemployment there came to light other areas of need, less related to the labor market. The needs of the aged, the

dependent child, the physically handicapped and the sick called for separate measures for the care of these groups through a permanent program. And so most recently we have been occupied with the establishment of the various phases of the social security program on a national scale.

The national expenditures for public relief and assistance are impressive. The Second Annual Report of the Social Security Board for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, gives figures as shown in Table I.

Figures for total expenditures for social services in the South are not directly available. From the Social Security Board report, however, the figures in Table II are taken for federal grants to the South-eastern States for the same period—the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937. The states are those represented in the Southern Sociological Society;¹ the amounts are the federal share only of the total social security expenditures.

The total expenditures for the social security program much exceed these amounts. And, if the cost of all social services is to be considered, the figures would run into astronomical amounts, as the Social Security Board figures do not include expenditures for workman's compensation, vocational rehabilitation and unemployment compensation, nor the older services of care of juvenile and adult delinquents, the mentally defective and insane, nor the private expenditures for family and child welfare, community organization and recreation.

* Read before the third annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 1, 1938.

¹The states included are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia.

In the national picture our attention is attracted to this recent expansion and program. But regions, like people, are different. And as a basic principle of social work calls for respecting the individu-

individual background. As we are all aware, the social problems now presenting themselves for attack in the South are neither superficial nor recent; they are deep seated and of long duration. Rather

TABLE I
NATIONAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC RELIEF AND ASSISTANCE, 1937

1. All Public Relief excluding administrative expense	\$2,369,180,500
2. Obligations incurred for payments to recipients of the special types of Public Assistance:	
a. Under the Social Security Act—Total	293,184,616
(1) Old Age Assistance	\$243,718,182
(2) Aid to the Blind	9,005,194
(3) Aid to Dependent Children	40,461,240
b. Not under the Social Security Act*	23,045,000
3. Obligations incurred for general relief extended to cases	403,110,000
4. Earnings of persons certified as in need of relief employed under the Works Program:	
a. Works Progress Administration	1,325,148,395
b. Other Federal Agencies**	290,422,821
5. Resettlement Administration subsistence payments	34,269,668

Source: Second Annual Report of the Social Security Board for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1937.

* State and local expenditures for OAA, AB, ADC, under plans not approved by the Social Security Board.

** NYA, REA, RA, PWA, etc., when on a relief basis.

TABLE II
FEDERAL GRANTS TO THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES UNDER THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT*

Total grants	\$11,108,081
Under Social Security Board	\$5,891,437
(1) Old Age Assistance	\$4,491,453
(2) Aid to the Blind	115,588
(3) Aid to Dependent Children	1,284,396
Unemployment Compensation Administration	1,159,281
Under Department of Labor	1,705,280
Maternal and Child Health	1,035,734
Crippled Children	400,244
Child Welfare Services	269,302
Public Health Expenditures, Treasury Department	2,552,080

Source: Second Annual Report of the Social Security Board for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1937.

* The states included are Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas. If the states of Texas and Oklahoma were included the amounts would be greatly increased: Total grants, \$25,212,953; S.S.Bd., \$18,659,759; Children's Bureau, \$2,180,539; Health, \$2,827,956.

ality of the client, let us differentiate the South. The case history quickly shows that the social problems of the South, while superficially resembling those of the country as a whole, have a peculiarly

than being a resultant of the depression they long preceded it and have only been brought more into the spotlight by the social services set up to cope with it. We have glimpsed their extent through the

ERA and rural rehabilitation programs. They reach back for generations, and are rooted in an outmoded and decadent agricultural economy, of which the economic dependency and emotional dependency of human beings have been cornerstones. The strenuous recent years have only brought the inevitable resultants of this system so definitely to our attention that they can no longer be disregarded. Our present and future problems of social rehabilitation are vastly increased by now having to deal with the human products of generations of this economic and social neglect. We meet it in terms of chronic attitudes of dependence, chronic poor health and invalidity resulting from earlier untreated disease, low earning power because of low physical efficiency and illiteracy, and the whole miserable way of life which has resulted from the interplay of these factors and our previous attitudes of indifference about them. We now have to pay the costs of our previous social stupidity.

These extensive and deep rooted conditions are not to be corrected by a few months or years of social work treatment. Rather they require broad and careful long-time programs which will also strike at the continuing causes of these same conditions—corrective programs which will allow family incomes sufficient for shelter better than animals' stables; food that has appeal and protective value rather than being grudgingly swallowed to maintain existence; education and social life which will allow progressive change of the present drab, gray routine of daily existence into living that has some meaning and vitality. Such programs must increasingly affect the lives of millions of our southern people.

These broad programs, of new form but old causes, require expenditures of almost staggering amounts. Here is a first reason

for professional administration. Such large amounts of public funds, available to be spent on people, are a shining mark for political control and manipulation. Confirmation, if needed, is to be had from the experiences of Illinois and Oklahoma, where federal grants for Old Age Assistance had to be suspended pending housecleaning of selfish political interference. The best insurance against such a double-edged catastrophe is administration by non-political, professional personnel.

This protection is made the more imperative by the newness of the whole program and our almost total lack of previous administrative experience with public programs of such a size. If we in America had had, like England or Germany, some decades of practice with such administration, with guide posts to mark the way, our present problems would be less difficult. Or if we, like they, had a corps of civil servants with some minimum standards of training and some general administrative experience in the public service to draw upon, we again could feel more secure. But lacking both experience and personnel there is the more need for insistence upon such personnel standards as can be applied to the American schemes. And one of those standards is certainly to be found in professional training for social work.

But the social worker is more than a cold-blooded watchdog of the public funds, important as that function may be. The critical point in the whole administrative process of the social security grants comes in the exercise of discretion. To whom are these grants of public funds to be made? This is a large responsibility in terms of money, but larger yet in terms of social returns. How is the largest amount of benefit to be secured for the sums expended, within the legal framework of the respective acts and their

administrative regulations? On the very face of it there is a clear call for administrative ability of a solid kind.

However, it is in the day-to-day operation of these services that the real need for social work skills is evidenced. The variety of human problems which are presented is endless. The single requirement of destitution as a factor in eligibility in many of the categories immediately implies that all the related ills of poverty are likely to be present—neglect of children, delinquency, disease, broken morale. Most of these human situations are complicated—existence at the poverty level is not a simple affair, as any case record will show. Not a few of them call for quick action in acute situations which taxes the abilities of even the experienced social worker. The daily handling of such vital human situations is no longer a field for the amateur.

Granted that the problems of social rehabilitation which we are facing in the South do call for professional personnel, two pertinent questions follow. How many such persons are now practicing and to what extent do they meet the needs, and how are others to be obtained. Consider the last question first as the matter of training relates directly to the points just referred to.

Within the past five years these problems of personnel have been faced by the administrators of two large national programs—the FERA in 1934, and the social security programs in the past two years. A training program in both cases was worked out with the Schools of Social Work, professional schools which were members of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. This decision was not reached because the schools were the *only* training device available, but that they offered the *kind* of training which was most needed for the wise direction

of these programs. What are the essentials of such training?

A prime essential is a suitable personality in the student. A person who is to be entrusted with untangling the affairs of others must himself be mature. Good intelligence, good physical and mental health, a genuine humanitarian interest in people, and a saving sense of humor are each fundamental. His undergraduate preparation should desirably acquaint him with the fields of biology, economics, government, psychology, and sociology—the sciences underlying our political and economic structure and social life. Prerequisites in these fields are specified by most schools of social work.

On this basis the schools of social work build their professional curriculum, increasingly at a graduate level. The curriculum divides itself broadly into the course material presented in the classroom, and the related field work experience. The course work is steadily broadening in scope, not only including the strictly "social work" content, but also drawing from the fields of law, medicine, psychiatry, and government.

The field work instruction of the individual student is a kind of "teaching on the job" of basic educational importance. During this experience the student becomes an integral part of a functioning social agency. In many schools his work is directed by the full time supervisors of the school itself, similar to the clinical teaching of medical schools; in both cases the student carries professional responsibility for his work, under the direction of his supervisor who is available for consultation when needed. For effective teaching this field work experience needs to be closely related to the content of course instruction; together they form a strong and supplementary educational discipline.

How many such professionally trained

people have we in the nation, and particularly in the South? The best index is found in the membership of the American Association of Social Workers, the national professional association. Founded in 1923, the Association had slow but steady growth up to the depression period, when the great expansion of social serv-

TABLE III

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS—
MEMBERSHIP AS OF OCTOBER 1937, FOR THE
SOUTHERN STATES AND CERTAIN OTHERS

Adapted from the Annual Statement of Membership, *The Compass*, December, 1937

STATE	MEMBERS	POPULATION*	NUMBER PER 100,000 POPULATION
United States	10,432	127,521,000	8.2
New York	1,742	12,889,000	13.5
Ohio	943	6,707,000	14.0
Pennsylvania	947	10,066,000	9.4
<i>South</i>			
Alabama	44	2,834,000	1.6
Arkansas	28	1,999,000	1.4
Florida	57	1,614,000	3.5
Georgia	111	3,345,000	3.3
Kentucky	116	2,846,000	4.1
Louisiana	196	2,120,000	9.3
Mississippi	6	1,961,000	0.3
North Carolina	55	3,417,000	1.6
South Carolina	32	2,012,000	1.6
Tennessee	66	2,900,000	2.3
Virginia	158	2,637,000	6.0
Total	869	27,685,000	3.1
Texas	164	6,077,000	2.7
Oklahoma	63	2,509,000	2.5

* Bureau of the Census, Estimate for 1935.

ices swelled its ranks. Its membership doubled in the period 1930-1936, and stood, in October, 1937, at 10,432. It is significant that this growth continued despite a marked raising of professional standards effective in 1933.

For the country as a whole the number of professional social workers per 100,000 total population is 8.2 (see Table III).

The distribution of membership shows a heavier concentration in the Atlantic and North East-Central states; highest rates are for Ohio, 14.0, and New York, 13.5. For the Southeastern States included here the total number of social workers is 869, with rates varying from a low of 0.3 in Mississippi, through an average of 3.1 for the 11 states, to 6.0 in Virginia, and a high of 9.3 in Louisiana. This membership is attached to city and state chapters as follows: 11 state chapters, enrolling 527 members, or 60 percent of the membership; 5 city chapters, enrolling 342 members, or 40 percent of the membership. From this analysis we may say that for the Southeastern States, the provision of professional social workers is about one-third that of the country as a whole, and one-quarter that of the states with the highest rates of professional service.

From the two situations presented above—the large and probably increasing need for trained personnel in the administration of social services in the South, and the limited number of such personnel at the present time, the conclusion can properly be drawn that the South needs more trained social workers. The question then comes: How are these trained social workers to be obtained?

The picture of professional training in the South is a relatively simple one. In the Southeastern States there are five professional schools which are members of the national accrediting body, the American Association of Schools of Social Work—Atlanta, Louisville, North Carolina, Tulane, and William and Mary. Four of these are for white students, one for colored. Their total enrolment on November 1, 1937 was 373; 330 women and 43 men. Of this group, 254 were full time students, 119 part time; 298 were at the graduate level, 65 undergraduate, and 10 special students. In transition is the new school at Louisiana State University,

organized in 1937 and now assembling curriculum and staff looking toward accredited status.

Additionally, some of the colleges and universities in most of the states here represented have offered courses in preparation for social work at various times and of various content. Some of these schools, with an eye on the expanding program of the social services, are considering what their next move should be in this field of training. On this point there are several relevant considerations.

The first is: Is it either necessary or desirable that all social workers who are to practice in the South be trained in the South? While giving general assent to this question on the grounds that finances will limit the number of students who can go elsewhere for training, and that southern schools *should* be better equipped to train southern students to meet southern problems, yet good reasons exist for the opposite view. Our experience at Tulane is that southern students as a whole have been and are a protected group with a provincial viewpoint. They know little but the South and many of them have only the vaguest ideas about the most pressing of southern problems. One of the best ways to learn about your own region is to get outside it; to see other parts and other ways; to objectively examine your problems from a distance. The opportunity of living in other places, of mixing with students from other parts of the country and of varied backgrounds, is in itself an educational and maturing experience of largest value. Moreover, with our southern students there is the additional consideration that there is less reciprocity between the South and other parts of the

nation than between the other parts themselves, so that the training period of the student may offer the only opportunity which he may have to get away. Consistent with this experience, Tulane is encouraging its students and graduates to seek scholarships, internships, and positions out of the South; and we believe the results have fully justified the policy.

There are in the United States 32 professional schools of social work enrolling 6,422 students (November, 1937). A number of these schools are located in the belt of states adjoining the South, in Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and District of Columbia. A step further away, the large schools of New York, Pennsylvania, Western Reserve, and Chicago offer broad programs to student bodies representing every state in the Union and many foreign countries. Because of the acceptance of a minimum standard program by the accredited schools, the student obtains approximately the same general content in his basic first year in any school, and may exchange his credits between them.

The real consideration, however, is the quality of training offered. The essentials are: good training, in course and field work, to mature people, at a graduate level. Undoubtedly the South can use more of such training. But unless it can meet these standards our effort is better spent on good undergraduate preparation in the social science fields. Here can be laid a firm foundation on which to build a graduate professional training of sound content and competent instruction. Such a program is our best service to the future of social work in the South.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress, in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE COMMUNITY BACKGROUND OF DENVER CRIMINALITY

LYNN I. PERRIGO

University of Kansas City

I

ON THE whole, there are more crimes of violence against persons in villages and country, but in the city there is a higher general rate of criminality, due largely to the excess there of crimes against property.¹ Thus a city is not only a suitable place for the study of crime but also a convenient one for observation of the environmental background. Denver, Colorado, is a city of nearly 300,000, and every year one in each 300 persons there is the object of a criminal charge. Over half of these 1,000 annual criminal cases are comprised under the headings of burglary, embezzlement and fraud, forgery, larceny, and auto theft.²

If a person were to go back of the court to study the background of some of these cases and to probe as far as possible the environmental conditions surrounding these delinquents at the time of arrest, would he find some common denominators

that could be designated as characteristic of the surroundings and background of criminals there? Perhaps an inquiry as to whether these criminals were natives of Denver or migrants thereto, whether they came from poor homes or good, and whether they came from areas of deterioration or of "nice" residences might suggest some of the factors that contribute to urban criminality.

II

In the Denver Police Department the files of the Bureau of Identification contain the records of individuals arrested as so-called "felons."³ At the time of arrest the clerks in the department record not only the physical description and finger prints of the subject but also his answers to many questions about himself. Then the entire criminal record of the subject is obtained from the Federal Bureau of Identification and filed with the above. Finally, when disposition is made of the

¹ Niles Carpenter, *Sociology of City Life* (N. Y., Longmans Green, 1931), 296, 297. In 1920 there were four times as many homicides per population in the small towns of Kansas than in the City of New York. Gillin, *Criminology and Penology* (N. Y., Century, 1926), 67.

² "409 Sentenced," *Denver Post*, Nov. 24, 1935.

³ Felonies on the whole include the more serious offences in contrast to misdemeanors, but there is much overlapping of meaning and wide variation in local practices of classification and determination of what constitutes a felony. Cf. Gillin, *Criminology*, 11; Carpenter, *Sociology of City Life*, 295; and list of felonies in Merriam, *Report of the City Council on Crime in the City of Chicago* (1915), 29, 30.

case in court, the outcome is added to these records.

For this study the cases that met two qualifications were selected from these files.⁴ These were the record of a Denver address, which was necessary for later field studies, and the record of disposition and conviction, which made possible elimination of suspects that were acquitted later. Three hundred recent records were scanned in the search for one hundred that met both of these qualifications.⁵ Several of those eliminated were ones bearing no Denver address or addresses elsewhere, which is significant of itself because it indicates the serious police problem created by the "floating" portion of the urban population. For these 100 cases the significant personal facts and a summary of the criminal record was copied. The possession of 100 Denver "criminal addresses" then made possible field observations on the types of homes and kind of urban areas involved. Notes were taken concerning the dwelling and neighborhood in each case. Minor problems of classification arose, but in all cases an effort was made to aid the purpose of the study; that is, to facilitate a final interpretation of the material with regard for migration and environment as disorganizing influences.

This information aids first in the formation of a preliminary picture of the general criminal problem in Denver. Crime there, as elsewhere, is engaged in by young men. Of the 100 felons studied 95 percent were men; 44 percent were of ages 15-25, 56 percent were 25-50, and 5 percent were 50 and over. These ratios become even more indicative of the part of young men when

compared with the population of Denver in each of these age groups.⁶ In 1930 only one person in twelve was a young man of 15-25, yet nearly one-half of the criminals were recruited from that group. Adult males of 25-50 also came in for more than their share, for they constituted only one-fifth of the population and contributed nearly the other half of the criminal group.

After the varied criminal charges were classified roughly into the "personal" and "property" categories, the predominance of those in the latter group was noteworthy, with 79 percent falling there. The young men and women were the greatest offenders against property since 85 percent of their crimes were of that nature as contrasted to 75 percent for the mature men and women (age 25-50) and 66 percent for the older delinquents (over 50).

Of these 100 felons, 34 were first offenders, 21 had one previous arrest, 17 had two previous offenses, and 28 had longer records. The young and old were largely those that were experiencing their first arrests, while the middle group provided the ones with the longer records.⁷ Finally, 31 of the 100 arrested were sentenced to the penitentiary, 42 received fines, 11 went to reformatory and asylum and 10 to jail, while 6 others were given the privilege of appealing for probation from their fines and jail sentences. The younger group provided the major share of those who were awarded probation or reformatory sentences as well as about half of the recipients of fines, while the others were about evenly divided between fines and

⁴ The records of the bureau were made available through the courtesy of Sergeant George L. Beckvermit and H. L. Crum, with the approval of the chief of police.

⁵ Files No. 17350 to 17650.

⁶ U. S., *Fifteenth Census, Population*, III, Part One, 66.

⁷ 15 of 47 youths, 29 of 47 middle aged, and only 1 of 6 old people had records of 2 or more previous charges.

the penitentiary.⁸ Of course these 100 cases included only those which ended in convictions, which in 1934 happened to only four out of each ten suspects that were arrested on criminal charges.⁹ The others were acquitted or released.

By way of summary, Denver criminals are chiefly *young men* who violate *property* rules, who may or may not have "a record," and who, *if convicted*, pay their debt to society with a fine or by *serving a term* in confinement.

III

One characteristic of urbanism is the congregation and segregation of racial and foreign groups within the city. Denver has Negro, Mexican, and alien minorities, and the first two groups contributed more than their share of crime.¹⁰ In these 100 cases the Mexicans were the most troublesome, since their crime ratio was approximately eight to one; that is, they provided 19 percent of these cases whereas they made up only $2\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total population. The Negroes were a late second with a ratio of three to one. The other groups were found to have contributed less than their proportionate share of crime. The white American-born

had a ratio of three to four and the white foreign-born of only one to two; but when certain other poorly assimilated groups, like Indians, Jews, and Italian stock, were included in the latter group, they and the other aliens together had a ratio of approximately one to one.¹¹

In this connection it is of interest to note some related facts. All seven Negroes committed offenses against *property* whereas one-sixth of the white Americans, one-fourth of the Mexican-Indian-Italian-Jewish group, and *three-fourths* of the "Teutonic" aliens were harmful to *persons*. On the other hand the men in the last-named group had the least number of previous offenses registered against themselves. The mixed group (principally Mexicans) also had a fairly low proportion of cases with bad records, while the other two groups were about evenly divided between those of only second offense and those of longer records.¹² This evidence, in-so-far as it is representative, leads to the conclusion that whereas most of Denver's crime is committed against both property and persons by white Americans with and without bad

¹¹ The tabulation was as follows:

	% OF POP.	MALE CASES	FEMALE	TOTAL
Mexicans	$2\frac{1}{2}$	19	0	19
Negroes	$2\frac{1}{2}$	7	0	7
Wh. Amer.	$83\frac{1}{2}$	59	2	61
Wh. For.	$11\frac{1}{2}$	4	0	4
Unassim.		6	3	9
	100%	95	5	100

¹² The figures:

	1ST OR 2ND OFFENSE	SEVERAL
Foreign whites	3	1
Mex., It., Jew, etc.	21	14
White Americans	31	30
Negroes	3	4

⁸ The sentences were distributed as follows:

	TOTAL	PEN.	REFTY	JAIL	FINE	PROB.
Young	47	8	9	6	20	4
M. aged	47	20	2	4	19	2
Old	6	3	0	0	3	0
	100	31	11	10	42	6

⁹ "409 Sentenced," *Denver Post*, Nov. 24, 1935.

¹⁰ The Negroes and Mexicans each comprised about $2\frac{1}{2}$ % of the total population, while foreign-born whites included $11\frac{1}{2}$ %. Only one in five Mexicans were foreign-born, and of course, hardly any of the Negroes. U. S. *Fiftieth Census, Population*, II, 68.

court records, the Mexicans and Negroes, with less impressive records, come in for more than their share of trouble particularly where money and property are involved.

Another phenomenon of the city is its attraction of migrants not only from other cities and abroad but also from the countryside far and near. Migration is a serious disorganizing influence, but the part it plays in making Denver's criminals is not easy to determine. In the first place, the influence does not spend itself in the first generation. Furthermore, the Census Reports and local records provide inadequate information, especially if one desires to include the significant factor of migration of parents of criminals as well as of the offenders themselves. Nevertheless, of these 100 felons, 18 were born in Denver and 12 in other urban communities. Their problem of adjustment would be less than that of the 28 who came from towns and smaller cities, and much less than that of the 36 who came from villages and the country and the 6 of foreign birth.¹³ To what extent is this factor of migration to a more perplexing environment reflected in crimes and records? There is considerable import in Table I concerning previous offenses along with the type of crime.

From the above there appear two well-defined relationships. While the migrants from village and country seem to be most troublesome in the city (36 of 100 cases), it is the town and small city man who more often comes with a bad record. And the proportion of crimes against persons in each group has an *inverse ratio* to the proportion of chronic offenders. In other words, those whose change of environment is more extreme as a rule are more prone to

¹³ For this classification the following arbitrary basis was employed: urban—100,000 or more, towns and cities—3,000–100,000.

TABLE I
MIGRATION SHOCK AND CRIMINAL RECORDS

NATIVITY	TOTAL CASES	OVER 3 PREVIOUS OFFENSES	PERCENT	CRIME V. PERSONS	PERCENT
Denver	18	3	17	6	33
Other Urban	12	4	25	2	16
Town & City	28	11	43	1	04
Village & Rural	36	9	25	8	22
Foreign	6	1	17	4	66
	100				

clash with the law in their new surroundings, excepting the small group of foreign-born, too small for real meaning. But crime against persons, which is more spasmodic than habitual, is characteristic of two extreme groups—the easily adjusted and the most unadjusted, while the middle group, or town and small city crowd, comes to the urban community with a bad record of property offenses already charged against them. They seem to have failed to adjust themselves to their previous surroundings, and final migration to an urban environment has not helped matters any.¹⁴

IV

In this group of 100 cases nearly three-fourths of the criminals gave labor, skilled and unskilled, as their occupation. That is one-half more than the share of the laboring class when compared to its proportion in the total population.¹⁵ It is

¹⁴ The correlation of crime to migration would have been even greater if the long list of "floaters" with no Denver address had been included in this tabulation.

¹⁵ There were 71 laborers and 29 "white-collar" workers (clerical, business, personal service, professional, sales, etc.), but laborers made up only two-fifths of Denver's employed population. U. S. *Fifteenth Census, Population*, IV, 232–6.

interesting that the "white collar" workers were responsible for less than their share of injury to persons, that they had less than their share of bad records, but that they received more than their proportionate allotment of penitentiary and reformatory sentences.¹⁶ But the salient fact here is that the burden of crime is traceable to laborers, and with that clearly established their homes come in for consideration next.

In the group being studied 58 were single men and 3 were single women, while 26 were married and 13 were married but gave separate addresses for their spouses.¹⁷ Since so many were single, another item must be considered in order to penetrate their home background. Many listed other relatives, and from that it was possible to count some whose parents were separated or one of them deceased. These added to the list of married but separated made a total of 39 that could be said with some certainty to have come from "broken" homes, and that sum is far from complete since so many gave fragmentary information concerning relatives. Another significant point brought out here is the fact that the married men were more serious offenders against per-

sons than were the single or the separated.¹⁸

Denver is a city of one-family homes,¹⁹ yet 63 of these 100 offenders came from two- and multi-family dwellings. Conversion of the figures into ratios produces the following for the share of crime traceable to each type of dwelling: one family, 37 to 93; two-family, 14 to 4; multi-family, 49 to 3. Lot space and neighborhood influences are also to be considered. Fair-sized yards were found at only 17 of the homes observed, the other 83 having either small yards or, more often, none.²⁰ Beer "joints" were located within a block or so in 76 instances, and street cars ran by the house or within a block in ninety-two cases. On the other hand, open areas, useful for recreation or for "breathing space," appeared in the neighborhood of only twenty-nine of the "criminal homes." Comparison of these latter factors with Denver as a whole, as was done with types of dwellings, was not possible, for it would be a task in itself to determine how many Denver homes were farther than two or three blocks from liquor retailers and street cars. Yet mere superficial observation warrants the conclusion that most homes were more distant from the influence of saloons and busy streets and nearer to open areas of various

¹⁶ The table follows:

	NUMBER	CRIME V. PERSONS	%	MORE THAN 3 OFFENSES	%	PEN. & REFTY	%	FINES	%
Labor.....	71	18	25	22	31	40	51	33	46
Wh. Collar...	29	3	10	6	21	17	59	9	31
	100								

¹⁷ Compare with 30.6% single males and 69.3% total married, widowed and divorced males in Denver in 1930, U. S. *Fifteenth Census, Population*, II, 950.

¹⁸ Further statistics on these 100 cases follow:

	NUMBER	CRIME V. PERSONS	%	MORE THAN 3 OFFENSES	%	PEN. & REFTY	%	FINES	%
Single.....	61	11	18	17	28	26	43	25	41
Married.....	26	8	31	7	27	14	54	13	50
Separated.....	13	2	15	4	31	6	46	4	31

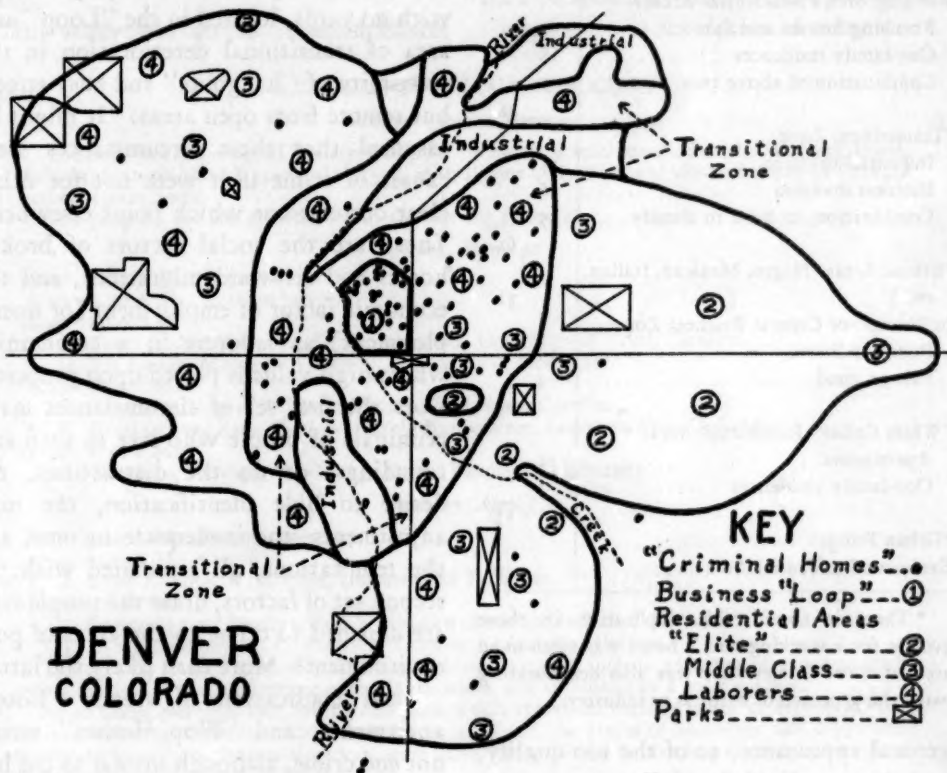
¹⁹ One-family—93%, two-family—4%, and multi-family—3%, U. S. *Fifteenth Census, Population*, VI, 204. In this study hotels were included in the list of multi-family dwellings.

²⁰ Lot space: none, 54; small, 29; good, 17.

kinds than were these 100 dwellings. The conclusion here is, then, that there is a high correlation of criminality with multi-family dwellings, no yard space, little neighborhood "breathing space," proximity of liquor retailers, and the noise, anonymity, and means of locomotion brought by busy streets and their street cars.

is quite revealing, but its meaning is aided by statistical amplification (Table II).

The contrasts in the Table II speak for themselves. It was "Loop" and its integumental areas that contributed the criminals. True, the "Working Men's Residential Areas" contributed 46, but they came from the poorer parts of those



Another way of approaching the environmental circumstances is to consider the number of "criminal addresses" found within each of the various urban zones and areas. For this purpose the chief zones may be designated as "Loop," "Industrial and Business Transitional," and "Residential," and each zone may be subdivided into areas. This "ecological" differentiation has been plotted on the accompanying map of Denver, and the 100 addresses entered thereon. The map

areas; and if the ones in that list that reappear again in the "Transitional" and "Ethnic" columns were removed, the blot on the better working men's area is reduced to insignificance. And Denver's "Exclusive Residential Area" is not small, covering nearly all of the east half of the city, yet it contributed none of the 100 criminals. If there were offenders in that region of "good homes" they either escaped detection or somehow evaded being hauled into court and "mugged."

Part of these 100 dwellings may also be classified in a slightly different manner. If the ones were selected that were decidedly bad as regards neighborhood and

to "white collar" apartments and residences. From these tables the correlation of crime with the "Loop" and the deteriorating zones and areas is again evident.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF THE 100 HOME ADDRESSES

	OF 100 FELONS TOTALS
Working Men's Residential Areas:	
Rooming houses and flats	11
One-family residences	18
Combination of above two	17
	46
*Transitional Zone:	
Industrial invasion	11
Business invasion	36
Combination, or hard to classify	15
	62
*Ethnic Areas (Negro, Mexican, Italian, etc.)	31
In "Loop" or Central Business Zone:	
Poor conditions	19
Fair or good	4
	23
"White Collar" Residential Area:	
Apartments	12
One-family residences	3
	15
*Urban Fringe:	3
Exclusive Residential Area:	0

* There is considerable duplication in these groups, for a working man's home was often in an area of those homes that was also deteriorating with the approach of business or industry.

general appearance, 50 of the 100 qualify, and they are divided as follows:

"Slums"	25
"Loop"	
Rickety apartments and rooming houses	9
"Flop Houses"	6
Other cheap hotels	6
	21
"Shedtown"	4
	50

Most of the remainder are poor workingmen's homes, with a few others traceable

V

A clear relationship appears between crime and certain environmental circumstances, namely: multi-family dwellings with no yards, located in the "Loop" and area of transitional deterioration in the proximity of "hangouts" and busy streets but remote from open areas. It might be assumed that these circumstances were causes of crime if it were not for other clear correlations which point elsewhere. Those are the social factors of broken homes and cityward migrations, and the economic factor of employment (or unemployment) as laborers in a community where high value is placed upon property. Does the first set of circumstances make criminals of people who live in such surroundings, or do the distractions, the desire to hide identification, the maladjustments, the inadequate income, and the temptations, all associated with the second set of factors, draw the people who are destined to crime to the areas of poor environment? More than likely the latter.

Then eradication of slums, "Loop" apartments, and "Flop Houses" would not end crime, although insofar as the bad influences of those neighborhoods stimulate delinquency the result should be favorable. And because of the high correlation found to exist in regard to crime and certain degenerative influences, it is fair to assume that removal of those influences would be definitely worthwhile. Of course, the removal of them would call for slum clearance, and even though expensive, so is Denver's crime. Since all costs of crime in the United States average about two and one-half million dollars a

day, Denver's pro-rated bill would be about two and one-half million a year. If, as possibly indicated here, the expenditure of a million dollars for improvement of surroundings for classes from which criminals are recruited would save anything near that amount annually in crime losses and costs, Denver and other cities could afford to take such steps immediately.

This study has served to reemphasize

the complexity of the criminal background. To the extent that these 100 cases are typical, it points to a certain peculiar combination of environmental circumstances that was operative in a majority of the instances. It suggests that further study of more cases over a longer period of time in Denver and elsewhere might more clearly light the way for a profitable attack on these background conspirators in the drama of crime.

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

The Southern Sociological Society will hold its fourth annual meeting at the Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, March 31-April 1, 1939, with Emory University and the University of Georgia acting as joint hosts.

The program for the two days will include the following:

Friday, March 31

- 8:00-9:00 A.M. Registration.
 9:00-10:00 A.M. Business meeting.
 10:00-12:00 A.M.
 I. *Public Welfare Relations*, Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina.
 II. *The Family*, Morris G. Caldwell, University of Kentucky.
 1:30-3:30 P.M.
 I. *Population*, Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina.
 II. *Rural Life and Rural Problems*, Harold Hoffsommer, Louisiana State University.
 3:30-5:30 P.M.
 I. *Teaching of Sociology*, Wayland J. Hayes, Vanderbilt University.

Saturday, April 1

- 8:00-9:00 A.M. Business meeting.
 9:00-11:00 A.M.
 I. *Social Research*, W. E. Cole, University of Tennessee.
 11:00-1:00 P.M.
 I. *Criminology and Penology*, Paul W. Shankweiler, Florida State College for Women.
 II. *Race and Culture*, H. C. Brearley, Clemson Agricultural College.

The evening session at 8:00 P.M., Friday, March 31, will include addresses of welcome from representatives of the two institutions acting as hosts, and an address by a guest speaker.

At sectional meetings fact finding committees will report on various topics of interest to the Society including: Relation of Sociology to Social Work, the Status of Sociology, Sociology and Secondary Education, the Introductory Course in Sociology, Social Research in the South, Relations of Regional and National Societies.

Visits to places of interest in the vicinity of Atlanta have been arranged for the afternoon of Saturday, April 1.

Officers of the Society for 1938-39 are: E. W. Gregory, Jr., University of Alabama, President; W. E. Cole, University of Tennessee, First Vice-President; Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, Second Vice-President; B. O. Williams, Clemson College, Secretary-Treasurer.

The Executive Committee includes, in addition to the present officers of the Society, the following past presidents: E. T. Krueger, Vanderbilt University; Wilson Gee, University of Virginia; Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina; and the following elected members: R. F. Bellamy, Florida State College for Women; Harlan W. Gilmore, Tulane University; Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College; Monroe N. Work, Tuskegee Institute; Harry Best, University of Kentucky; Fred C. Frey, Louisiana State University.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

THE JAPANESE PATRIARCH IN HAWAII

JITSUICHI MASUOKA

University of Iowa

I

IN ONE of its important aspects the family is an institution. As an institution it performs many of the complex functions of creating human nature and personality. When we think of the family as an institution, we are interested in the forms of relationship which involve husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters and even persons more remotely related. Our attention is directed toward an understanding of the body of social heritage which conditions and perpetuates the established forms of relationship.

But the family is a social group as well as an institution. As a group it is made up of a larger or smaller number of persons who live together and satisfy their needs coöperatively. When we think of the family as a group we try to understand the mechanisms of human interaction which are responsible for the perpetuation or the modification of the family forms. We study the nature of personal wishes and interests that come into existence in any given social situation, and try to understand how personal attitudes tend to support or to undermine traditional forms. How well does the family group serve its various members? How do the

members whose interests are not served well react, and how does the reaction of such a person tend to weaken respect for old forms and to modify them? These are the focal points of interest.

A well integrated study of the family necessarily synthesizes the findings based on both the institutional and the group point of view. However, for purely research purposes one point of view may be emphasized. This is, of course, only in response to the needs—the abstraction essential for the precise and systematic description. The main purpose of this study is to examine the traditional Japanese family system and its modification in Hawaii under the influence of Western culture.

II

The family in Japan is a continuing organization embracing not merely a man and his wife and children but also all others connected by blood or adoption. Not only the living but also the dead are included, and one might even say that those not yet born are members. The family is thus based on a vertical relationship—on successive super-imposed generations—from parents to children with primary emphasis upon the patriarch-

son relationship.¹ As the continuance of the family is recognized through the male line only, it can be represented comprehensively for generations by a genealogical tree.

In general the status which every individual has and the rôle which he assumes in the family are determined more or less by customs and traditions of the group. The degree to which the future is "mapped out" for him differs according to the degree to which the cultural pattern is integrated and the degree to which any particular form of relationship is emphasized. In the traditional Japanese family organization the rôle of each member, particularly that of the patriarch, is definite and non-problematic. Thus the traditional Japanese family can be studied by considering the relations of patriarch and all other family members, related either by blood or adoption.

The Patriarch, His Status and Rôle.—Sociologically speaking, the patriarch does not exist apart from the group which recognizes his authority and accepts the rôle he assumes. The patriarch has his status mainly because he performs his duties and obligations as dictated by custom and law, and in accordance with the expectations of others. His duties and obligations as defined in the Japanese Civil Code include

... The right of consent to the marriage and divorce, the adoption, of each member of the family, right of determining his or her place of residence, and the right of expelling such person from the family, or of forbidding his or her return to it. He has also the right of succession to property in default of other heirs. But the headship of a family carries with it also duties and responsibilities, the duty of support-

ing indigent members of the family, the duty under certain circumstances of guardianship, and responsibility for the debts of all. . . .²

In reality the patriarch has daily his pressing problems: he must look after the welfare of every member; he must safeguard the family property and other family heritages; and he must uphold law and order within the family, and make peace, harmony, and collective well-being the keynote of family life. He accomplishes this by emphasizing the importance of laboring collectively, by upholding respect as the norm of conduct, and by creating a reverential attitude toward the cult of his ancestor. In a final analysis the "we-feeling" originates in and continues through the family in a form of gratitude toward the family ancestors.

Since so much of his social status and his rôle depends upon the continuance of his family property and the family, his paramount desire is to keep them intact. His sentiment toward his ancestral land, for example, is very deep seated. How deep seated is his sentiment toward his ancestral land and the ancestors can best be seen in the experience of a returned emigrant. In general, an immigrant is not notoriously faithful to ancestral worship because he is usually too busy in accumulating money, but when he returns to the original cultural situation he regains the sentiment toward his ancestral lands. Mr. O—after living in Hawaii for nearly thirty years and having acquired the western conceptions of land and money, made a short visit to his old village with the expectation of selling his ancestral land. But he said:

I could not sell the land which my ancestors handed down to me. When I witnessed the way the farmers worked from early morning until late in the

¹ Inazo Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation*, p. 159; S. Toda, *Kazoku to Konin* (The Family and the Marriage); and also by the same author, *Kazoku no Kenkyu* (Research on the Family); also, J. Masuoka, "Changing Moral Bases of the Japanese Family in Hawaii," *Sociology and Social Research*, 21 (1936), 158-169.

² "Introduction," to *The Civil Code of Japan*, by J. H. Gubbins (trans.), pp. xxvi-vii; also, W. J. Sebald (trans.), *The Civil Code of Japan*, pp. 169-70.

evening tilling the land which they have inherited from their ancestors, I realized that my forefathers too must have worked as hard as they in order that I might have the privilege of owning a few acres of paddy fields and the forest land. I could not help but weep and bow before my ancestors in deep gratitude and regret that I had thought of disposing of the land. Now I do not think of selling it, for I know that it is worth a million although it could not be exchanged for so much money.³

Law and custom have given the patriarch absolute control over the family property, but strictly speaking it does not belong to him.⁴ He cannot dispose of it as he pleases, for the family property belongs to his ancestors and prospectively to his descendants. He is merely the manager of the property and if he must dispose of it he must do so only after the approval of the family council.

The patriarch is accorded the right to demand absolute obedience from every member in the family, and in the perfectly functioning family his authority is accepted unconditionally by all. An excerpt below illustrates the rôle of a patriarch in Japan when the traditional family is already undergoing some slight modification. He demands absolute obedience from every member in the family even at the risk of creating a psychological barrier between himself and the rest of the family. It should be noted that in spite of the apparent conflict, this family has been successful in maintaining its unity.

My general recollection of my father is that he was a cold, stern, taciturn, rather cruel person. I remember clearly that during my boyhood, I never felt warm affection toward him. Our relation was, I thought then, more of the relationship between a master and

servant. What he said was absolute and final in the family. I can not recall any incident in which I ever disobeyed him. I simply dreaded him. . . .

We always obeyed his every command. In the morning, before he went out to work, he always told us what to do after school. We were mindful of his orders, but sometimes we would forget and then we felt like a criminal appearing before a judge when we saw our father in the evening.

I remember vividly one occasion when I went fishing and forgot to buy tobacco as ordered by my father. That evening my father asked me if I had bought the tobacco. Before he could say another word, I left the dinner table and ran through the dark to the store, which was located about a mile from my home, forgetting that ghosts, demons, dead spirits, and foxes ever existed. When I returned he did not punish me but praised my quickness.

It is only with bitterness that I recall the relation between my father and mother. I did not then and do not now, think that they loved each other. I often thought that they hated each other. . . .

Every cent in the family was under his control. I do not know whether he ever gave my mother money. Fortunately, my mother had a little spending money which was sent her secretly by my eldest brother in Hawaii. From her own purse, she bought things for us. She never, except in time of sickness, went to bed before my father. When he went to a party, or to a public meeting, she would stay up till he came home.

Quite often they had quarrels about us and my father always won. He even resorted to physical force. Then my mother would say no more. Many a time she said that she would have gone back to her parents' home had there been no children. . . .⁵

The patriarch's primary concern is the family and he stands always for the welfare of the family from the standpoint of its institutional relations.

The Patriarch and His Wife.—Where the continuance of the family is of supreme importance, marriage is of vital concern because it ensures the perpetuation of the family. Since it always means establishing a relationship between two families as well as introducing a new member with more or less different family customs, the head of the family is very particular in the

³ Manuscript Document.

⁴ The Civil Code of 1898 recognizes individual property within the family circle. "Property acquired by members of a house in their own name constitutes their own separate property."—See, Article 748 in *The Civil Code of Japan*, by W. J. Sebald, p. 169.

⁵ Manuscript Document.

choice of his or her son's wife.⁶ A good marriage usually means a union with a family of the same standing in the community. Therefore, love before marriage is strongly disapproved, for it usually jeopardizes the social status of the family. "Love makes no distinction between high and low" (*Koi ni Joge no, Hedate nasbi*) says the Japanese proverb.

The wife becomes a new member of the family. She is the bride of a house as well as of an individual. Her expected rôle is to bring forth an heir and the norm of behavior toward her husband and other members of the family is that of respect but not necessarily of love and affection. In the eyes of the patriarch and the family a good wife is a woman who, by bringing forth sons, helps to safeguard and perpetuate the family name, and by being obedient, properly humble and diligent, helps to maintain peace and order in the family.⁷ As manager of domestic affairs she must be competent and thrifty so as to raise the economic status of the family.

Her failure to perform any one of these duties is regarded as sufficient ground for divorce by the family and the community. Being an affectionate and lovable wife to her husband is a secondary matter. They are desirable if she possesses the other qualities of a good wife. She is, thus, frequently divorced on the ground that she does not fit into "our family tradition" (*Kafu ni Awanu*) or on the ground of sterility. To these reasons for divorce social opinion makes no protest. Just as it is a moral obligation for a patriarch to marry in order to perpetuate his family line, so is it also his moral obligation to divorce his wife should she prove incapable

of performing her duties, and thereby threaten the very existence of the family. Divorce, therefore, is in the mores. Not infrequently the barren wife of a patriarch is divorced, sometimes unjustly as shown in the case below:

Mrs. H—, formerly Mrs. I—, was divorced in Japan on the ground that she was barren, for even after two years of married life she had no child. Her husband was very fond of her and did not want to divorce her, but it was his mother, who, although she was very fond of her too, insisted that her son must divorce her. He was the head of the family and to have a future heir was more important than to live happily with his wife.

After her divorce she was very much disappointed and did not care to remain in the same village with Mr. I—, who was one of her neighbors. She had an offer from Mr. H—'s house and so came to Hawaii nearly twenty-five years ago to this plantation. Mr. H— lived in the house next to ours and Mrs. H— and I became very good friends. Mr. H— was considerably older than Mrs. H— but it could not be helped for she was a *demodori*, that is a divorced wife.

A year after her arrival in Hawaii she had a baby boy. She was very happy for she knew that she was not a *fugu*, that is, a freak. On the following year another son was born to her. After she had two children she persuaded her husband to send her back to Japan for a short visit. She begged him to send her home although she knew that her husband must undergo great hardship to do so, for he was only a plantation laborer making an average of \$22 a month. Yet she insisted because she wanted to show Mr. I—'s mother that she was not a freak but a normal woman.

While in Japan she took her babies out every day in a beautiful baby carriage passing in front of Mr. I—'s house. She did this every day until Mr. I—'s mother came to her home and apologized in tears, for it had not been Mrs. H—'s fault that she had no baby. Mr. I— was still childless in spite of his second marriage.

After a year's stay in Japan she came back to Hawaii to join her husband. She is not thinking of returning to Japan for, she said, the only time she really wanted to go back, was after the first baby was born.⁸

If a patriarch always stands for the welfare of the family from the standpoint

⁶ Since the promulgation of the *Civil Code of Japan* a woman could be the head of a house, under certain conditions.

⁷ A. K. Faust, *The New Japanese Womanhood*, chapters 4 and 7.

⁸ Manuscript Document.

of its institutional relations, a mother is the chief creator and molder of human nature. Among the members family affection and a spirit of common devotion are created and nourished chiefly by her. Her rôle is that of mediator between the patriarch and the children, making it easier for the latter to adjust themselves to the former. The case below is a student's conception of his mother's rôle in the family:

As I look back upon her life from the beginning to the end, I can not help but love and admire her, and sympathize with her. Her life has been one of continuous self-sacrifice, labor, subjection, and cares and anxieties for others.

There was no equality between my father and mother. During the meal times my mother always sat at the lowest end of the table. Of course this fact does not indicate that her status was the lowest in the family. She never sat beside her husband. . . . She always seemed to be contented with the least thing in the family. Whenever we had fish or meat she gave the best and the largest piece to my father and smaller pieces to us, while she took the smallest and the worst for herself.

As a mother she was kind, gentle, and patient. She had six sons and three daughters, all of whom she brought up to maturity. None of them, so far, has "disgraced" the family name. Without her warm gentle care over us, it would have been impossible for us to endure the severity and strict discipline of our father. She was an oasis in a desert, a hiding place for us. I never asked my father for anything; I always asked her. It was my mother who gave us New Year's presents. Whenever my father scolded us, she comforted us and told us to be patient. . . .⁹

The Patriarch and His Natural Heir.—Among the children the first in the order of importance is the heir because he is the future patriarch. In the past he received special education concerning the family law and regulations and other duties and obligations. The task of educating the nobility and the *daimyos* (war lords) fell to the family tutors.

Like the patriarch, the heir receives

respect and special treatment from other members of the family and from the whole community. He is seated above all others and served first in the family save his father and grandfather. In addressing him other members use more honorific speech. This practice, as shown in the case below, still persists in a majority of the homes in Hawaii:

We are taught to respect parents, elder brothers and sisters, relatives and strangers. Any violation of the above laws are seriously dealt with. We are not allowed to answer "no," nor refute any of my parents' commands. What they command is immediately obeyed. Younger children, too, are made to obey their elders. They have to call their elder brothers and sisters by certain titles, *niisan* (older brother) and *neesan* (older sister) and not by their own names. Thus, I being the eldest in my family, all my brothers call me *niisan*, instead of calling me by my Japanese name, Haruo, or by my American name, Alfred. Being called Haruo or Alfred by any one of my brothers in the presence of my parents would, without doubt, result in a very fiery lecture or reprimands from them.

However, in spite of the large size of my family, I, being the eldest, can demand more things and have more privileges than the rest of my brothers. I do not know why this should be the case in all Oriental families, but it seems to be an accepted axiom that the first born child, or *chonan*—to be exact, the first born male child—should be ranked above the rest of the children of the family. In this connection I would like to mention some typical remarks that I received frequently from other people. I was still yet in high school when some one remarked: "Oh! you're lucky. Surely, your parents will send you to college." I guess, it is in the mores of the Orientals that one's parents should give their best to the eldest son, so that he would maintain the good name of the family. . . .¹⁰

However, if the heir fails to live up to the expectation of the family or appears to be incapable of managing the family property, or disgraces the family name by committing a crime or marrying against the wishes of the patriarch and the family, he is likely to be disowned and have his name taken off the family register (*Kando*

⁹ Manuscript Document.

¹⁰ Manuscript Document.

Seido) or to be compelled to give up the right of succession to the headship. This is in one sense a face-saving device, not for an individual but for a family. If, for example, some member of the family insists on marrying a woman of lower social standing or has disgraced his family name in the eyes of the community, he is sometimes disinherited and thus becomes an individual having no connection whatsoever with his original family. Such an individual may create a new house of his own. It frequently happens that a disinherited heir returns to his house after proving himself worthy of reinstatement.

The Patriarch and His Adopted Heir.—"The longer husband and wife are associated the more enduring their affection," goes a Japanese saying, showing that the personal sentiment often runs counter to the institutional practices and it may even endanger the very existence of the latter. Personal bonds may grow so strong that divorce becomes difficult. However, where the continuance of the family is of primary importance, the major institution has provided, so to speak, an auxiliary institution for its protection. Through the adoption of an heir a man is able to keep his wife and still have an heir.¹¹

The practice of ancestor worship and the desire to perpetuate the family name and keep property in the family are incentives for sanctioning the institution of adoption. Death without an heir is considered to be the greatest filial impiety. So it is the duty of the head of the family to adopt an heir in the absence of a natural son.¹²

¹¹ In the past the institution of concubinage was resorted to by a few men of the privileged classes to secure an heir. At present it is widely separated from family and is a means of satisfying not only a man's sexual desire but also his wish for power and prestige.

¹² N. Hozumi, *Ancestor Worship and the Japanese Law*, chapter 8.

The most common form is the adoption of the son-in-law (*muko yoshi*). This apparently originated out of a situation wherein the woman had no legal right to succeed to the headship of the family. The ancient law used to consider a man without an heir even though he had a daughter, because only men had the right to practice ancestor worship and to succeed to the family headship. Those who had daughters only, therefore, had to adopt a son, but since it was necessary, if possible, for the blood of the ancestor to be continued in the family, the head of the family adopted a son fitted to be his daughter's husband.

The adopted son legally acquires the same position as the natural born legitimate son. He relinquishes his original house and enters into the house of the adopter, taking the latter's family name and becoming the legal presumptive heir to the headship. In reality his status in the adopted family is somewhat like that of a wife. His also is an insecure position, for the adoption may be dissolved for any cause by mutual agreement. But if the parties could not come to a mutual agreement a compulsory dissolution may be brought about by one of the parties on the basis of many grounds specified in the Law. One of them is: "If the adopted person commits a grave fault of a nature to disgrace the family name or to ruin the house property of the adoptive house, the adoptive parent may bring an action for the dissolution of the adoptive tie."¹³ The reason for this is that the name of the ancestral house of the adopter is sacred and, therefore, it is not only the adopter's legal right, but also his moral and religious duty to dissolve the tie. The adoptive house is not the house of the adopter and adoptee alone but it is the

¹³ N. Hozumi, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.

house which the adopter inherited from his ancestors. From the point of view of the adoptee, he does not truly become the important person until the death of the adopter. Even after his death he is still under the influence of his wife and her kinfolk and cannot exercise as much power and authority as the natural successor to the headship. The unpopularity of this practice is voiced in the proverbial saying: "If there is a mere handful of rice in the house one should never be adopted."

In passing we might point out the relationship of the patriarch to a retired father (*inkyo*). The patriarch always considers the latter's will first and his opinion is given great weight in matters of grave importance. He is seated above all others and given the respect due him.

Other members of the family are given consideration according to their age and sex. While the oldest male receives first preference and respect, the second son also is treated with respect, for he is an important substitute for the heir. In case of the death of the heir or of his disinheritance the second son succeeds to the headship.

The core, therefore, of the Japanese family is the body of sentiments which are clustered around the patriarch-heir relationship.

III

The Japanese Family Relationships in Hawaii.—Some understanding of the experience of a typical Japanese immigrant to Hawaii is helpful in acquiring deeper insight into the forces operating to modify the traditional family relationships in Hawaii.

The experience of an immigrant tends to be something like that of an urban man. His personality is affected by a series of crisis-situations. Leaving his family group, his native village, and his folk culture, and adjusting himself to a changed

milieu, he is face to face with infinitely variable and perplexing problems which provide him with shocking and baffling experiences. Unlike his old village community which rested on a subsistence economy, the new community flourishes through a money economy. In his effort to find a new foothold in the new community he breaks away from his old culture and merges into the new culture life of the dominant group. His daily experience demands that he be assimilated and that he incorporate into his life some practices that are in harmony with the dominant culture. Moreover, he is credulous and susceptible to the new culture, for he was young when he left his village not in despair, but in hope—hope of acquiring money in order to raise his family status in his old village. In this sense he is an optimist, adventurer, and pragmatist eager to take advantages of the new community. Therefore, if in the new community a kindly relationship exists between his group and others and more particularly the dominant group, and if the infusion of the new culture does not radically undermine his group mores, he develops favorable attitudes toward the new culture.

The fact that his group always occupies a subordinate economic and social status and the fact that his community is located near the dominant group, explain in part why the cultural diffusion proceeds rapidly in spite of the existing language and other cultural barriers. Because of proximity in space, he and his descendant observe, feel, and develop an attitude of appreciation toward the culture of the dominant people. The longer he remains and the more successful he becomes, the more does he approach the cultural and personality types of the dominant group.

His community in Hawaii is economically, politically, and culturally never completely self-sufficing. Once he is

brought to participate in the development of the local economy, he is, by this very fact, unable to confine his activity strictly within his own immediate community. Furthermore, in his quest for a high social status locally or elsewhere, he encounters competition and conflict with the members of other groups. In attempting to adjust himself to life outside of his *ghetto* he faces the need of learning other languages, customs, etiquette, and the law and moral obligations of the larger community, and consciously or unconsciously he incorporates in his life practices of other groups.

Finally, as the duration of his residence is lengthened and his family established, his children become Americanized through their wider participation in the larger community. Their education and their life in political activities make them understand the culture of the dominant group. They introduce American culture to the home and become more or less Americanized through their children.

In Hawaii the patriarchal control prevails to a large extent, but the patriarch's status and rôle are rapidly being modified in response to the demands of local situations. His traditional rights and privileges are fast becoming relative rather than absolute. In the following pages are presented in a broad way, some of the significant factors which explain the shifting status and rôle of the patriarch in Hawaii.

In the first place, the Japanese immigrant to Hawaii was an ambitious young man when he left his home. He was not strongly impregnated with the traditional attitudes toward the patriarchal family system. Moreover, being young and impressionable he was able to adopt, more or less readily, the culture of the West.

Secondly, in the absence of family property—the ancestral land and the house—his authority, which was vested in the

cult of ancestor worship, lost its intrinsic value and began to be questioned by the members. The exercise of absolute control over his family became difficult for a patriarch in the highly mobile society of Hawaii.

Thirdly, the Japanese family as a unit in Hawaii became a consuming rather than a productive and consuming entity, as in rural Japan. In Japan the control of the family expenditures and incomes as well as the economic activities of each member was under the direct authority of the patriarch. But in Hawaii the patriarch earns his money outside of his home and the control of the family expenditures and incomes is now largely in the hands of his wife, if not of his son's wife. In general, as soon as he ceases to be the chief supporter of the family, his status is lowered and his rôle modified.

Fourthly, in the absence of a concerted social opinion in support of the patriarchal family within and without the Japanese community, plus the fact that the larger community sentiment and the law are not in sympathy with the typical traditional family, the value of continuing patriarch-heir solidarity even at the expense of the "happiness" of the young married couple is now questioned by both the first and the second generation in Hawaii. Sentiment in support of the traditional patriarch-heir centered family is rapidly being changed. Nevertheless, some families continue this form of relationship largely, if not wholly, for economic reasons. "It is much cheaper to live that way."

All of this is involved in the acculturation of both the first and second generation which inevitably affects the traditional status and rôle of the patriarch. Gradually as this process gains momentum the whole system of relationships comes to be modified. The status and rôle of patriarch take a different meaning both in

the eyes of the members of the family and of the community. The excerpts below are presented to show the modifications and consequent effects on the family and the community.

My father is no longer a "commander" or a "dictator." He himself has changed immensely in accordance with the changed environment according to the times. As I recall my childhood days, I believe I can say, he was the "boss" of the family. He was the one who decided what the members were supposed to do. I quite well remember the days when he tried to keep us away from luxuries. . . . But it was my mother who, accustomed to luxuries, defended us, saying that we are living in a different age. Now, we do not take father's words as seriously as we once did.

My mother has influenced him a great deal. For example, in the past my father used to invite his friends regardless of whether mother liked them or not. But now whenever he makes a list of guests he submits it for mother's approval, and he is quite apt to leave out those whom my mother dislikes.

Formerly father was rather a "dictator" on family problems such as marriage, etc. He used to say that he and his wife were to choose my brothers' wives. But today, odd but true, he has discarded such an idea and says: "It is up to my brothers. . . ." My father stresses the importance of the family status of a prospective bride or groom, but my mother does not agree with him. I believe, father's attitude is tempered by the fact that he "climbed" from a low economic status to a higher one, whereas my mother was never troubled with any economic problem. Whenever financial questions are raised in the family there is apt to be a conflict between my parents.

It is interesting to note that he still keeps the seat at the dinner table which he had when we used to regard him as a "boss." Everything is served to him first. We try to prepare menus which we think will meet with his approval. We never think of taking our bath until he has had his. . . .¹⁴

Mr. M—'s wife, a typical Japanese wife, is petite

in stature and as polite as she is small. She keeps her humble plantation house immaculately clean, and slaves from sunrise to sunset in catering to her husband and her fine daughters. (It is very unfortunate that she did not bear a son.) In her home, even to this day, strict Japanese customs prevail; after all, that is what "his lordship" wants. For example, no matter what she may be doing, when she sees her husband coming down the bend of the road she will drop everything immediately, in order to greet him properly. As soon as the greeting is over she hands him his towels, soap, and slippers so that he may carry them to the bath house. Irrespective of whether or not he shows his appreciation for her effort she never fails to perform her wifely duties politely and respectfully. This couple observes all Japanese holidays in typical native style even though the other Japanese families no longer celebrate them in that manner. The community points out this family saying that they are *baka teinei* (foolishly and ridiculously polite). They make themselves conspicuous amongst the others who are rapidly adapting themselves to more of the western manners through the humble medium of plantation life.¹⁵

Thus with the waning influences of ancestor worship, family property, the family name, and the family line, on the one hand, and with the growing influences of the ideologies, the family etiquette, and the mores of the American people, on the other, the traditional patriarch-heir relationship weakens. The established relationship between husband and wife is also affected by the rising social status of women in response to the local situation. The experience of the Japanese people with the American culture is too short to indicate the later trend but the evidence seems to show that the emphasis is shifting from the patriarch-heir to a husband-wife relationship.

¹⁴ Manuscript Document.

¹⁵ Manuscript Document.

MOTIVES IN MARRIAGE

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I

IN DISCUSSING the question of motives in marriage I am trying to ascertain what should be the motives for entering the marriage relationship. I am interested in the "what should" because this aspect is important when considering the matter of introducing novices to the responsibilities of institutional functions and relationships.

Some twelve years ago Professor Frank J. Bruno, of Washington University, wrote an article entitled *Function versus Motive in the Family Institution*.¹ In this article he pointed out that the institution of the family had certain basic functions to perform and the fulfillment of these functions was essential to the continuance of the structure. He also implied that to those, who, as prospective marriage partners, contemplate entering this institution for motives other than those assigned to the institution, would find the future one of disappointment and disillusion.

This seems like an excellent theoretical statement which gives us the essential thing to tie on to when looking forward to suggesting reasons for the marriage relationship, but on the other hand it is not so simple as it appears. First of all we find ourselves faced with the problem of clearly stating what the functions of marriage are, for to understand the functions of marriage it is essential that due regard be given to the patterns of behavior which characterize the whole activity of a people. This fact becomes clear as we take a hurried view of some illustrations of primitive and contempo-

rary cultures as well as an historical view of the marriage and family institution in the United States.

Malinowski in his *Sexual Life of Savages*² points out that the function of marriage among the Trobrianders is to give one social status. This status is sought by both men and women. In such a pattern childlessness is not a reason for divorce and separation, for the social status required did not include children. To understand the apparent simplicity of this motive for entering the marriage relationship it is necessary to note another fundamental behavior pattern, e.g., that of permitting boys and girls upon reaching the age of puberty to have complete love and sexual freedom outside the marriage institution. Furthermore, the family structure being matrilineal, in which the husband's economic responsibilities were to his sisters, and not to his wife and children, the motive had none of the economic compulsion which has characterized family patterns of other cultures.

Margaret Mead in *Sex and Temperament* reports that the Arapesh look upon "marriage as primarily an opportunity to increase the warm family circle within which one's descendants may then live even more safely than one has lived oneself." Because of this fact the Arapesh father when choosing . . . (a) little girl to live in his home for the purpose of growing into a wife for his son, considers very carefully the number of brothers and cousins she has, who will, in the years to come, be his son's friends. The father of a girl in accepting requests for his

¹ *Family*, Vol. 6, pp. 141-144.

² See J. K. Folsom, *The Family*, John Wiley and Sons, 1934, p. 90.

daughter is moved by the same consideration. Not only, however, does marriage serve to enlarge one's friends, but it also brings to the family of the husband to be a mate, one who will be a worker as well as the manager of the home.³

It seems that the motive which prompts the Arapesh father to select for his son a prospective wife who has numerous cousins and brothers is due to the fact that the function of the marriage relationship is primarily to promote the pattern of co-operative living which is unique with this tribe. Dr. Mead points out how complete this coöperative tendency is when she says, "Each man plants not one garden, but several, each one in coöperation with a different group of his relatives. In one of these gardens he is host, in the others he is a guest. In each of these gardens three to six men, with one or two wives each, and sometimes a grown daughter or so, work together, fence together, and while engaged in large pieces of work, sleep together. . . ."⁴

The function of the traditional Chinese marriage was that of perpetuating family traditions through coming generations. Marriage had for its main purpose, therefore, to bring to the husband's family a wife who would bear sons in order that the family might continue. In this traditional family "barrenness" was a basic reason for divorce. It would be wrong to conclude, however, that the wife, except as a bearer of sons, was an unimportant person. To the contrary, she had numerous family duties and occupied an important position within the family. Also it would be incorrect to assume that affection and love behavior were absent; but, since the traditional marriages are arranged without recognition of the

wishes of the principals, love behavior becomes real, if at all, after the marriage ceremony.⁵ The importance of the family institutions, may account for making the perpetuation of the family line the most important function of marriage.

The function of marriage in states which ardently believe in the "Great State" theory and the insignificance of the individual, is that marriage is primarily for increasing population so that the state will always have an abundance of man power in order to maintain its dominant position. Basically this view is not dissimilar from that of the traditional Chinese theory, except that the patriarchal state is substituted for the patriarchal family. However, it would not be correct to assume that the marriages in these states are loveless, but that the dominant ideals of the community do not include the welfare and happiness of the individual except as he should find it in giving an essential service to the state.

In the Russian state, which seems to have started out in the hope of achieving a communistic structure, the function of marriage was merely that of friendship, and, hence the finding of someone who was congenial. In order to aid in realizing this function legal marriage and divorce proceedings were made easy and simple. Also all forms of birth prevention were openly advocated and used, so that unwanted children would not interfere with the happiness of the individuals concerned.

During the past year, however, it appears that fundamental changes have taken place in the social thought of Russian leaders. This new thought seems to have changed the basic function of the earlier Bolshevik marriage from that of

³ See pp. 83-87, William Morrow and Company, 1935.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁵ Wilhelm Richard, "The Chinese Conception of Marriage" in Keyserling, *The Book of Marriage*, Harcourt, Brace, 1926, pp. 123-138.

merely securing an agreeable mate, to that of securing a mate for the purpose of establishing a stable (possibly I should say more stable) family which will serve the state with an increased progeny. It is now clear that in Russia, as well as in Italy and Germany, rewards are being given to families which have many children. Marriage and divorce laws, although not stringent by any means, have been tightened. Abortion, which has been used almost exclusively by the Russians as a contraceptive, has been prohibited, except for necessary medical operations. However, other contraceptive information is still easily obtainable.⁶

Concerning the historical evidences in the United States, it seems that many of the early colonial and frontier marriages were, in the main, matings for the purpose of establishing a means of livelihood. This, of course, cannot be taken to mean that all marriages were contracted with this view in mind, but certainly the conditions of the time and the prevailing mode of living made this function imperative. Certainly as soon as the marriage was performed the industrial coöperative function came into being almost immediately. The wife under such circumstances was the bearer of large families, for boys and girls were as valuable to the family as were horses and other animals, for all aided in the exploitation of a plentiful land. Calhoun says in his study, "On women rested the burden of interminable child bearing. Large families were the rule. Families of ten or twelve children were very common. Families of from twenty to twenty-five children were not

rare enough to call for the expression of wonder."⁷

The primary functions of marriage under such circumstances presented no confusion, since the results were tangible and even the untrained could easily discern the material advantages which came to the man and woman, who, through marriage, had established a going factory which would repay them with physical maintenance. With few exceptions possibly, brides and bridegrooms were well aware of these primary functions prior to marriage, and they entered the relationship well knowing what was expected of them.

Accordingly, the functions of the marriage relationship differ under different social conditions and we hasten to suggest that the marriage relationship of today also is influenced by modern social conditions. Furthermore, if Professor Bruno's suggestion is accepted it might be concluded that the motives of an earlier day are no longer adequate for entering the marriage relationship today. Also it might be concluded that modern motives must keep in touch with the changing functions if "lags" which result in friction and maladjustment are to be avoided.

II

In the changing scene of today it is obvious that the institution of marriage and family has lost many of its earlier functions. Some of the more obvious variations from the earlier American family include: the gaining of a livelihood outside the home; the increased economic independence of women; the development of the theory that it is the person and not the institution which is the thing of value; the increasing dependence of the family upon the functional activities of

⁶ *New York Times*, May 28, 1936. Louis Fisher, "Why Soviets Ban Abortions," *Nation*, Vol. 143, p. 97. "Soviet Democracy, Second View," *Nation*, Vol. 143, pp. 205-207.

⁷ *Social History of the American Family*, Vol. I, Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio, 1915, p. 87.

other community institutions; and the increasing insecurity of the economic structure in so far as it relates to the maintenance of the family. These generalizations, while not conclusive, are adequate, it seems, to suggest that the contemporary social organization has taken away many of the fundamental functional relationships of the earlier family institutions.

While it is evident that there has been a changed functional basis of the family, can it be concluded that there are no functional services which the marriage and family institution of today perform which are essential to the personal growth and development of men and women. Certainly the confidence of an earlier day is lacking, and one hesitates to answer this question with a dogmatic yes or no. On the other hand, it is clear that if one enters the marriage relation for the purpose of gaining economic security, which was the case in an earlier economy, our modern catastrophic depressions are likely to bring disillusion and disappointment. The securities of an economic nature, which came to the bride and bridegroom in the older marriage relationship, are of less significance today.

In addition to the loss of functions indicated above, there seems to be evidence that there is an increased tendency to seek love satisfaction outside of the home. The increased flexibility of modern moral standards gives the individual a greater area in which he can satisfy his individual desires without encountering the restrictive regulations of the community. Also, as Groves suggests, the young people of today "have very largely escaped from the suppressions and taboos of . . . (an earlier) . . . period; and so they are thrown upon their own resources. . . . At the same time, society has also made it hard for a large number of them to marry,

for purely economic reasons."⁸ Studies by Hamilton, Davis, and Dickinson reveal that women are showing an increased tendency to indulge in sexual relations outside of the marriage tie.⁹ Some have concluded that when the loss of this function becomes widespread, the institution of marriage will be history.

However, along with the social changes which have removed many of the functional activities of marriage and the family, there has come a deeper understanding of human personality through the studies of sociologists, psychologists, and others which indicate that there are essential needs of the human personality which can be more adequately served through marriage or a continuous relationship with another person of the opposite sex. In general, it seems to be the conclusion of most thinkers dealing with the question today, that the main function of marriage today is that of furnishing an affectional or love institution which has community sanction. Also studies of married people seem to indicate that this function is basic.

Mrs. Chase Going Woodhouse in her study of 250 successful families says, "In thinking of the factors making for success [in the family] the thing most stressed was the attitudes on the part of the family group towards each other and the relationship between husband and wife. Individuality of each member must be recognized. There must be love, frankness, courtesy, coöperation, a sharing of all things, tolerance and understanding, and a sense of humor. Husband and wife must be well-mated, coöperative and all-around friends. They must know the

⁸ E. R. Groves, "Courtship and Marriage," *Mental Hygiene*, XVIII, pp. 32-36.

⁹ *Research in Marriage: Sex Factors in the Lives of 2200 Women*, passim.

elements of child training."¹⁰ In another connection Mrs. Woodhouse says, speaking from the standpoint of the wives interviewed, that they wish "... companionship with their husbands made possible because of congenial tastes, same ideals, common interests and common friends ... [it is] a picture of a quiet, deep, lasting friendship and companionship rather than of romantic, passionate attachment."¹¹

Lichtenberger in his study of *Divorce* says, "In the absence of economic compulsion the perpetuity of marriage must depend upon factors of internal cohesion. If spiritual ties are lacking or are inadequate to hold the family together it is likely to disintegrate."¹² Groves and Ogburn in their book *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, say that "the desire for an intense, trustworthy, and reciprocating comradeship is not only fundamental in human craving, but the stress of individuality that accompanies modern culture tends to elevate this motive and make it more and more compelling in the life of a thoroughly modernized person. ... Affection ... provides the matrimonial foundation in which we have the right to place confidence. People do not marry with less craving for affection than formerly but with more. The fact that there are few motives for marrying at all except this desire to join in the fellowship of love makes modern matrimony, as it now exists in modern culture, predominantly an expression of the profound need of men and women to find their happiness in the close character developing experiences of marriage and the family."¹³

Hausheer and Moseley in the *Study of the Unmarried* say that "one noticeable fact was that all women of all age groups and all occupations want someone kind and loving. In spite of the emancipation, careers, and modern desires to 'show equality with men' women at heart still yearn for ... affection. ..."¹⁴

One may insist that if marriage rests upon no other compulsion than that of human craving for affection that this can be secured outside the close tie of marriage. Possibly much of this contention is correct, and I have already suggested that this occurs, but there is, on the other hand, much intelligent opinion which concludes that a continuous relationship with a partner enables one to derive greater love satisfactions than where the relationship is one bordering on promiscuity. Van de Velde, who in his *Sex Hostility in Marriage* assumes a fundamental opposition between sexes, still argues for the present sexual arrangement. He says, "We must as long as ... (hostility) manifests itself, consider it as a normal phenomenon, and, still more, as wholesome. ... It is necessary because the bow of married life, just as other bows, cannot always be kept taut."¹⁵ Studies have been made which show that married couples become more alike in behavior during their married life.¹⁶ This may indicate an adjustment which serves the personality more adequately than a looser arrangement. Also studies of divorce appear to indicate that mere legal separation still leaves maladjusted personalities.¹⁷ Furthermore, modern sexologists have rather convincingly pointed out that through a close

¹⁰ "Does Money Make Marriage Go," *Survey*, Vol. 67, p. 356.

¹¹ Chase Going Woodhouse, "A Study of 250 Successful Families," *Social Forces*, VIII, p. 529.

¹² McGraw Hill, New York, 1931, p. 279.

¹³ P. 29.

¹⁴ "A Study of the Unmarried," *Social Forces*, Vol. 10, pp. 394-404.

¹⁵ Covici-Friede, N. Y., 1931, p. 159.

¹⁶ Mary Schooley, *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 340-347.

¹⁷ Elliott & Merrill, *Social Disorganization*, Harpers, 1935, p. 538.

intelligent intimacy such as marriage, companionship and love, emotions may attain heights which a primitive people relying purely upon instinctive sex drives never experienced.¹⁸

If the above remarks in a measure indicate the present understanding it would appear that modern marriage in democratic America should be primarily the mating of men and women for the purpose of achieving a fundamental love and companionship which is subcultural, but which, in this modern industrial age, has been elevated to a more dominant position than has previously been experienced. It seems then that the basic motive for entering the marriage relationship should be that of achieving for *each* personality, love and companionship. This does not mean that other motives may not enter, but it does indicate that the base is a "flimsy" one if the personalities mated are not capable of achieving a companionship which comes from common interests and ideals.

If it is correct that companionship should be the primary motive prompting modern marriages, it would also appear that more and more couples will be obliged to fall in love intelligently if they are to fulfill to the highest degree the function of modern marriage.¹⁹ Intelligent understanding will likely forestall many marriages based on other motives and the resultant disillusionment which frequently occurs. We are moving forward in this recognition by much direct education for marriage. Counselling agencies, advisers, parental educational programs, and courses in some colleges and universities are among the pioneers, but yet the

work done is sufficiently new that an inauguration of such programs in colleges gets headlines in national newspapers. Such educational programs as there are have for their aim to discuss frankly with students every aspect of the marriage relationship hoping in this way to secure a more adequate understanding and hence greater success when marriage occurs.

However, with all due regard for recent attempts to educate young people in the basic functions of the modern marriage relationship, one is more and more convinced that the proper educational program for marriage should begin at infancy and follow through until the marriage tie is made. Groves suggests that most of the problems of marital maladjustment are due to emotional immaturity, and that this immaturity in men and women appears first in their failure to face facts.²⁰ Studies like Dickinson's *One Thousand Marriages* indicate that the relationships of marriage are frequently discolored by previous training until individuals, when called upon to enjoy the close intimacy of marriage, find themselves unequal to the task. It is encouraging, however, to find that there is much effort being expended which seeks to understand this problem, and some day there is hope that education may bring the motives which prompt the modern marriage into harmony with present day functions.

There is appearing on the horizon a spectre new to modern man: the growing sense of nationalism accompanying a falling birthrate. This may prove a new external compulsion which will cause the community of the future to force young people into the marriage tie in order to rear children for the state. An elaborate

¹⁸ Frederick Harris, "The Sexual Relationship in Marriage," *The World Tomorrow*, Vol. XI, pp. 103-106.

¹⁹ L. Foster Wood, "Falling in Love Intelligently," *Character*, Vol. III, pp. 8-15.

²⁰ E. R. Groves, "Domestic Adjustment and Character," *Character*, Vol. I, pp. 23-25.

program of experimentation along this line is now under way in Germany.²¹ A declining birth-rate and a desire for power

present a dilemma to those people who believe in liberty, and also to those who look upon marriage primarily as a companionship relation. In the future America may find this function assuming a rôle of greater dominance than it now does, and if it does, the motives of companionship will lose the significance they now possess.

²¹ See Frank H. Hankins, "German Policies for Increasing Births," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLII, pp. 630-652, for a complete statement of the German experiment. Experiments are also being tried in Italy, France, and Russia. These, however, are not so complete as those of Germany.

FIFTH CONFERENCE ON CONSERVATION OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

ERNEST R. GROVES, *Director*

The fifth conference on the conservation of marriage and the family will be held at the University of North Carolina and at Duke University April 11 to 14, 1939. The first conference, which met during the summer session of 1934, resulted from the interest of college teachers in the methodology of instruction in preparation for marriage that has developed at the University of North Carolina. Although the program of this fifth conference features discussions of the problems of teaching marriage, it also includes other topics relating to the conservation of marriage and the family and is broader in its appeal. This is in accord with the interests developed by the preceding conferences.

As in former years, Duke University is cooperating with the University of North Carolina in this fifth conference. The program of this conference as was true of those preceding, is made up of collaborators in the field of marriage and the family engaged in practical services. According to former policy, pioneering undertakings are given representation as well as more mature development. At the fourth conference the attendance represented a wide range of specialized interests in the field of marriage and the family including those of the teacher, doctor, lawyer, minister, parent, editor, author, clinic specialist, broadcaster, and social worker. The program for 1939 will include:

Special addresses featuring: An Educational Program for the Conservation of Marriage and the Family by Ernest R. Groves, University of North Carolina; The Medical Background of Instruction for Marriage by Ira S. Wile, M.D., New York; The Situation of American Youth by Homer P. Rainey, American Youth Commission; The Bearing of Nervous and Mental Diseases on the Conservation of Marriage and the Family by Raymond S. Crispell, M.D., Duke University; The Psychiatric Approach to an Understanding of Marital Incompatibilities by Harry Stack Sullivan, M.D., William A. White Foundation of Psychiatry.

Discussions and discussion leaders including: Fitting the Course in Marriage into the Academic Setting, Donald S. Klaiss, University of North Carolina; Teaching Marriage in the High School, Mrs. Frances D. Wynne, Miami High School; Teaching Marriage in the Summer Session, Raymond Morgan, Atlantic Christian College; The Teaching of Marriage as Part of an Adult Education Program, Gladys Hoagland Groves, Syracuse University Summer Session; Factors Conducive to Permanence in Marital Relations, V. Gregory Rosemont, Municipal University of Omaha; The Community and the Family, Lee M. Brooks, University of North Carolina; Domestic Reconstruction Through the Social Agency, Mrs. Anna Budd Ware, Family Consultation Service, Cincinnati; The Effects of Differential Reproduction, Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina; Religion and the Conservation of Marriage, Hornell Hart, Duke University; The Doctor as a Marriage Counselor, Bayard Carter, M.D., Duke University; Counseling of Youth, Robert G. Foster, Merrill Palmer School; What Youth Think about Marriage and the Family, specially invited students and Miss Frances E. Brooks and Miss Louise Brugh, Duke University.

For complete details write Mr. R. M. Grumman, Extension Division, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

SOCIAL-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

NEGRO TRADE UNIONISTS IN BOSTON*

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INTRODUCTION

THE relation of Negro workers to the organized labor movement has long been a subject of great interest to investigators of the social and economic aspects of Negro life in the United States. Most studies have been concerned primarily with the general situation as it exists over the entire country. The local aspects of the Negro's relation to the trade unions have been largely neglected. Of the large industrial cities of the North, New York City alone appears to have been thoroughly investigated.¹ Boston has presented a much less fertile field. No one has previously attempted to determine the status of the Negro worker relative to the trade unions of this city.

The present study is an attempt to ascertain certain basic facts concerning Negro trade unionists in Boston: their number and distribution, their occupational and industrial background, their

activities within the unions, their attitudes toward the unions, and the policies of the unions respecting their admission to membership.

In order to procure the necessary data, questionnaires were sent to each of 130 local unions. In addition to the questionnaires, personal calls were made to the headquarters of 20 unions, and to the homes, offices, and places of employment of several union officials and members. White trade unionists as well as Negroes were interviewed and white and Negro non-union workers were called upon for information. Thirty percent of the questionnaires were returned, but several of them were incompletely filled out and four were returned with no other information than the name and number of the union.

THE OCCUPATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL BACKGROUND OF NEGRO WORKERS IN BOSTON

The trade union movement exists fundamentally around the question of jobs. That workers organize to secure higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions presupposes that they first have jobs. Secondly, the types of occupations in which workers are engaged

* This paper is based upon a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the master's degree in sociology at Boston University Graduate School.

¹ See Mary W. Ovington, "The Negro in Trade Unions in New York City," *Annals of Am. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci.*, vol. 27, 1906; Charles L. Franklin, *The Negro Labor Unionist of New York*, 1936.

determine to a great extent their affiliation with labor organizations, for trade unions have thus far been most effectively organized around the skilled and semi-skilled occupations. In view of this development, it is necessary to trace the industrial and occupational status of Negro workers in Boston before attempting to determine their position as trade unionists. In what industries have they been found? At what occupations have they worked? Are they now skilled workers or are they unskilled laborers, menials, and jacks-of-all-trades? The answers to these questions are important for upon them we may rest our expectations of Negro participation in trade unions organized upon the basis of skill.

The Boston City Directory for 1846-47 listed 343 Negroes. The list included 3 shoemakers, 3 cigarmakers, 13 hairdressers, 23 barbers, 8 dressmakers, 25 clothiers and milliners, 4 tailors, 2 jobbers, 1 mason, 3 grocers, 2 cooks, 1 fruit dealer, and 1 furniture dealer. The laborers, porters, and cleaners had well over 90 representatives. The list did not include the entire adult Negro population, but we may accept it as indicating the occupational trend of Negroes in Boston. This trend was unmistakably in the direction of the unskilled classifications and toward personal and domestic work. Even after fifty years of freedom, the Boston Negro was still largely unable to advance beyond the types of work that had marked his status as a slave. Because of his numerical weakness, the Negro was an unimportant economic factor, and this fact alone rendered it easier to shunt him into traditional occupations that were calculated not to alter his condition of economic impotence.

Not until 1890, in the Eleventh Census of the United States, do we again find official statistical information as to the

industrial and occupational status of Boston Negroes. In that year there were 3,614 Negro males and 1,453 females above the age of ten gainfully employed. Of the males, 1,254 were listed as servants, 182 as janitors, and 498 as unspecified laborers. If we add to their number the following unskilled or semiskilled occupational groups: porters and helpers, salesmen, livery stable keepers and hostlers, dealers and peddlers, messengers and office boys, we find that 64 percent of the male working population were to be found in the unskilled or at best the partially skilled categories of labor. The proportion of unskilled workers among the females was as high as 81 percent of the total.

In 1900 sixty-four percent of all employed Negro males and 88 percent of all females were engaged in domestic work and the personal service industries exclusive of the unskilled occupations connected with other industrial groups. On the other hand, the manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, in which are to be found the majority of the skilled trades, accounted for only 9 percent of the male and 8.7 percent of the female working population.

The thirty year period from 1900 to 1930 witnessed a slight increase in the number of Negroes gainfully occupied in the manufacturing and mechanical industries. In 1910 the proportion of those engaged in these industries had risen to 14 percent for males and to 10 percent for female workers. By 1920, 26.1 percent of all Negro workingmen and 15.1 percent of all working women were occupied in jobs within the manufacturing and mechanical industries. This percentage remained fairly stable over the next ten years. But not all persons within this industrial group are skilled artisans. In 1930 the unskilled workers in the manu-

facturing and mechanical industries represented 29.7 percent of the total engaged in these industries.

Negro representation, on the whole, has remained small in the skilled trades. Partly because of this, Negro workers have had numerically weak representation in local craft unions which have had no restrictions against them on account of color. There are other reasons which have militated against their greater representation within the unions, reasons which we shall discuss at a later place, but, basically, their industrial and occupational standing in the community had placed them, as a group, just outside the pale of trade union activities.

THE NEGRO AND THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN BOSTON

The part that the Negro worker played in the labor movement in Boston during the nineteenth century is shrouded in great obscurity. It is not known how many Negroes belonged to the workingmen's associations and trade unions which appeared in Boston during this period. The likelihood is that not many found their way in. The numerical weakness of the group of skilled Negro workingmen would alone have been a check on the admission of many of them. But by the end of the century some of the unions connected with the building trades had Negro members, as did the Granite Cutters' Union and the unions embracing the printing trades. In 1900 there were several Negroes in the various unions of teamsters and some held offices in these unions. It is of interest to note that Negroes first entered this occupation as strike-breakers and remained as regular workers after the strikes terminated. They were admitted to the unions and as their numbers increased they became a powerful force within these bodies.

Not all Negro trade unionists, however, were as fortunate as the teamsters just mentioned. The carpenters, masons, and bricklayers, in spite of union affiliations, were, for the most part, "unable to get better than intermittent occupation . . . largely because white artisans disliked to work with them."² Many were forced to enter the unskilled occupations and to become industrial "men-of-any-work." Thus trade union membership did not create an equality of opportunity for employment. In fact, the existence of prejudice and the practice of discrimination on jobs against Negro members was one of the factors that discouraged many Negro skilled workers from joining the unions.

The drift of craft unionism toward a policy of exclusion was another of the factors that operated to keep Negroes out of the unions. The craft unions became more or less exclusive societies with limited memberships. This policy of exclusion was not in all instances aimed directly at the Negro though he naturally suffered from it. In 1910 not more than one union in twenty had any Negro members at all. Few of the unions showed any interest in the Negro's industrial and educational welfare. As a group, Negro workers were left to shift for themselves without leadership or direction of any kind.

The next two decades brought no fundamental changes in the status of the Negro worker or the Negro trade unionist in Boston. To the employer, he was a tool to be used in combatting the organized forces of white labor. This was brought out forcefully in the longshoremen's strike of August, 1929 when 100 Negroes were employed to take the places of white

² John Daniels, "Industrial Conditions Among Negro Men in Boston," *Charities*, vol. 15: 35-39.

longshoremen who struck when asked to double their loads. This particular incident was not an unmixed evil, however. It gave the initial impetus to the move to organize the Negro longshoremen, although actual organization was not attempted until the events of the strike of 1931 and the job scarcity of a world-wide depression awakened the longshoremen's unions to the potential menace of an unorganized and hostile force of black labor. Unfortunately, the attempt to organize Negro longshoremen lacked both persistence and sincerity. One or two of the unions admitted a few Negroes to membership but the rank and file of white longshoremen were openly hostile to the idea of including Negroes. But few of the other unions made even the half-hearted attempt to organize Negro workers that characterized the efforts of the longshoremen. Those that already had Negro members retained them, unless the Negroes dropped out of their own volition, but no efforts were made to enroll new ones, and the unions that did not admit Negroes saw no reason for changing their policies.

The coming of industrial unionism has brought about two developments of great importance. The first has been the organization of unskilled workers who had been neglected by the craft unions. The second has been the renewal of serious organizing activities by the unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. in order to meet the keen competition of the new movement. Negro workers have been affected by both these developments. Industrial unionism has created a trade union consciousness where none existed before.

Development of Negro Local Unions

This survey of the Negro's part in the historical evolution of the trade union movement in Boston would be incomplete without some word about the develop-

ment of Negro local unions. At the present time there are four such locals: Musicians No. 535, the Boston division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Boston local of Dining Car Employees (waiters and cooks), and the recently organized local of Red Caps at the Back Bay Railway Station. The oldest of this group is Musicians No. 535 which was organized in 1915 and has been in continuous existence ever since. The Boston division of the Sleeping Car Porters was organized about 1927 and received its charter in 1936. The Dining C Employees local was organized in 1934, and the Red Caps in 1937. Attempts are now being made to organize locals of red caps at the North and South railway stations.

The first all-Negro union in Boston of which we have any record was the Boston Colored Waiters' Alliance (Local 183 of the International Union of Hotel and Restaurant Employees).³ This union flourished about 1910. It was more a social club and an employment office than a trade union in the real sense. It was composed of so-called "public waiters" who were not regularly employed anywhere, but who worked intermittently on catering jobs and as extra men. The union prospered for a time but finally disintegrated, and its membership was absorbed in the white locals of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union.

The Boston division of the Dining Car Employees is peculiar in that it is a part of a local union, No. 370, which covers an area extending as far west as Chicago. Local 370 is affiliated with the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America. The local has a membership of about 900 while the Boston division

³ John Daniels, *In Freedom's Birthplace*, Boston, 1914, p. 376.

of the local numbers 85. It is now the sole bargaining agent for the waiters and cooks on the Boston and Albany, the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, the Lehigh Valley, and Lackawanna railroads. Organizing work is now going on on the Boston and Maine, the New Haven, and the Central Vermont lines.

The Boston division of the Sleeping Car Porters is affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the organization founded by A. Phillip Randolph, and now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The local union is a dues collection agency and a device for the maintenance of morale and the dissemination of propaganda. Since all the members of all the locals throughout the country work for the same employer, the Pullman Company, the International Union fights the battles of all. Its gains or its losses affect alike local unions and their members wherever they may be located.

With the exception of the musicians' organization, local unions of all-Negro members have developed among the railroad porters, the waiters, cooks, and stewards. This is not altogether surprising for it is in these personal service occupations that we find a large proportion of the Negro working population. On the other hand, these are the occupations that have been the most difficult to organize effectively. Individuals employed in these jobs are generally of the type one would least expect to find in trade unions. Thrown by the nature of their work into daily contact with the great and near-great of the capitalist business world, they have themselves become capitalist-minded and employer-conscious. Psychologically they are far removed from the rank and file of laboring men because even yet they have been unable to rid themselves completely of the

belief that their best interests are tied up with those of the boss. Yet in spite of this outlook, trade unionism has progressed among them largely because of intelligent and aggressive leadership. While there are a few who are antagonistic to the unions, and many who are frankly skeptical of their usefulness, there are others—porters, waiters, and attendants—who are among the most ardent trade unionists the writer has met in Boston.

NEGRO TRADE UNIONISTS IN LOCAL UNIONS

It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Negroes in Boston who are trade union members. Estimates running from as low as 500 to as high as 2500 have been suggested to the writer. These estimates, made by trade union people themselves, have admittedly been based on nothing more accurate than hunches. At the present time there exists no source that can supply the information. Neither the Boston Central Labor Union nor the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor feel themselves sufficiently informed about the Negro element in the labor movement to venture even "intelligent" guesses as to their number and distribution. The method of this study has been to rely on questionnaires submitted to the unions and on personal interviews with the officials of local unions. But even with this method it has been impossible to make an accurate count of Negro trade unionists. In the first place, 70 percent of the questionnaires were never returned, and many that were returned were incompletely filled out. Secondly, many of the local unions were themselves unable to make more than approximations of their own Negro memberships, if they had any. In a great number of the unions no designation of the racial affinity of a member is made on the rolls. Unless the official who grants the interview happens to

know personally the Negro members of his own union, or to know of them, he is quite likely, in all good faith, to give out misinformation. The writer had this impressed upon him in an interview with the secretary of one of the local unions. This official stated that there was only one Negro member of the local. The business agent, who was standing nearby, corrected him and told him there were three. The secretary wanted to know where the other two Negroes were that he did not know about them. "They never come to meetings," replied the agent. "They just send in their dues."

Although it is difficult to arrive at an accurate count of the total Negro trade union membership in Boston, we may, to a limited extent, determine the trend of trade union membership by an examination of the figures submitted. Twenty-nine local unions reported a total Negro membership of 822, ranging from 300 in one of the all-Negro locals to 1 each in ten of the unions of highest skill. But this is by no means all of the Negro trade unionists in Boston. Many unions which did not report are known to have Negro members, such, for example, as the Cleaners and Dyers of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, locals of longshoremen, and many of the unions of government employees.

Of the 822 Negro members reported, 495 or approximately 60 percent of them are found in unions of all-Negro membership. Does this mean that white unions do not want Negro members? While it is true that the policy of some local and international unions has been one of exclusion of Negroes from membership, in this instance it means only that Negroes have organized in occupations in which they still hold a virtual monopoly—pullman porters, dining car waiters and cooks,

and red caps. Approximately 80 percent of the 495 are found in these occupations. The situation is somewhat different among the skilled artisans. Here the percentage of skilled Negro workmen—carpenters, mechanics, bricklayers, masons, painters, electricians, tailors, etc.—is very low, being but 4 percent of the total number reported in trade unions. This may be an indication of the general policy of exclusion that has prevailed among the craft unions. Granted, that the proportion of skilled workers in the employable Negro population is small, still it is large enough to warrant better than a 4 percent repre-

TABLE I
NEGROES IN BOSTON ENGAGED IN SELECTED SKILLED
OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATION	TOTAL NO. EN- GAGED	RE- PORTED NO. IN UNIONS
Brick and stone masons.....	24	1
Carpenters.....	59	4
Electricians.....	23	0
Machinists.....	49	0
Mechanics.....	127	0
Painters, glaziers and varnishers....	130	1
Tailors.....	68	0

Source: U. S. Census, 1930.

sentation in the unions of highest skills. For the purpose of comparison there is listed in Table I the numbers of Negroes in Boston engaged in certain selected skilled occupations according to the census of the United States for 1930, and the numbers of individuals of those skills reported in trade unions.

There is, however, another side to the story which should not be forgotten. Many Negro workingmen have been inimical to the idea of unionization. Others have been indifferent, while still others have been ignorant of the fact that there are labor unions in the city embracing their particular skill. We shall have

more to say on this point when we discuss the attitude of Negro workers toward the unions.

Twenty-one unions reported having no Negro members. Of these only seven have had Negro members in the past. Boilermakers No. 685 had "as high as 10 before disbandment." The union was reorganized in 1935 and evidently the Negroes were not included in the new organization. Leather Handlers Local 308 had 15 to 20 Negroes between 1918 and 1921. According to the union, the Negroes were replaced in their jobs by soldiers returning from the war and were subsequently suspended from the union for non-payment of dues. Carpenters No. 56 had one Negro member "about 18 years ago." The Granite Cutters Association has had "2 or 3" Negroes "off and on."

The reason given most frequently for not having Negroes in the union is that there are no Negroes in the particular trade around which the union is organized. In many instances this is but a convenient excuse for sidestepping the issue of Negro membership. Boilermakers No. 685 had, as we have seen, as high as ten Negro members before the union was reorganized in 1935. Yet it claims that the reason it has no Negroes now is that there are none in the trade. Can it be that all ten Negroes died since 1935 or moved away? Although No. 685 can find no Negroes in the trade, Boilermakers No. 115 reports that it now has one Negro member. Boilermakers No. 29 also "believes" that there are no Negro boilermakers, but it is frank enough to admit that it has constitutional restrictions against Negroes. It is the opinion of Welders No. 651 that there are no Negro welders in Boston, but if there were they could now be admitted to membership as all restrictions against them have been removed.

In spite of the fact that the census of 1930 lists 68 Negro tailors in Boston, the Journeymen Tailors Local 12 reports that there are "no Negroes in the trade."

Several unions which claim to have no restrictions whatever state that Negroes have never applied for membership. The accuracy of this statement is difficult to check. It is the opinion, however, of at least three Negro trade unionists that it is generally true. Although there have been instances where unions have rejected the applications of Negroes, many Negro workers have assumed that the unions would discriminate against them without actually finding out by trial.

How active a union member is the Negro trade unionist in Boston? Is he loyal to his union? Does he support it? The answers to these questions are important for upon them, presumably, depend the attitudes of white unions toward their Negro members and toward Negro workers who are now outside the unions but may wish to enter.

The experiences of local unions with Negro members have been varied. Local 267 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers reports that its Negro members are hard workers within the union and have always been loyal to the organization. It wishes it had more of their kind in its ranks. Boilermakers No. 115 is more than satisfied with its one Negro member. In its estimation, "it's the Italians that make poor members." The only Negro in Bridge Tenders Union No. 12333 is described as a "good member," one who pays dues regularly, attends meetings, and takes part in the deliberations of the union. Bricklayers No. 3 reports that it has always found its Negro members in the past to be excellent trade union men and that its present Negro member is one of the best that it has. In the Theatrical Workers Union, at least six of the twelve

Negro members are active in union work. Two of them were recently nominated for places on the executive committee of the union. The Negro member of Carpenters Local No. 51 pays dues but does not attend meetings. Carpenters Local No. 40 reports that its three Negro members are in good standing and are very active in union work. Before the depression, this union had several Negro members who proved their loyalty beyond question during the city-wide carpenters' strike of 1922. Most of the 20 Negro members of Local 447 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees do not attend meetings or take part in union affairs, but they keep up payment of their dues. In the local of the American Federation of Actors only two of the ten Negro members are in good financial standing. One of the organizers in the local union of Cleaners and Dyers is a Negro, a man who is held in high esteem by trade unionists throughout the city. He has been a labor union member for over twenty years and was a member of the United Mine Workers Union before a change of occupation sent him into the Cleaners and Dyers. Negroes have been very active in Building Laborers No. 88. At the present time the offices of president and business agent are held by Negroes.

The only really unsatisfactory experience with Negro members is reported by the Allied Printing Trades Council. According to this source, Negroes remained in the unions only until they received benefits of pay increases and shorter hours. Then they allowed their memberships to lapse for they were no longer interested.

The foregoing would indicate that Negro trade unionists in Boston make good union members. Before jumping to this conclusion, however, we should remember that our information is incomplete. It does not necessarily follow that he makes equally as good a member in

those unions not reporting their experiences. The Negro trade unionist does not, by virtue of the fact that he is a Negro, make a better or worse union member than white trade unionists. A sense of loyalty, an understanding of the principles of trade unionism, and a knowledge of and an appreciation for the power of organization are some of the virtues which go to make good trade unionists. These qualities are not distributed by race but are to be found among black workers as well as among white.

ATTITUDES OF NEGRO WORKERS TOWARD THE UNIONS

The Negro trade unionist population of Boston has been small because of the relatively small size of the skilled and semi-skilled Negro group and because of the general policy of exclusion practiced by the craft unions. There are, however, other causes which have operated as effectively in keeping Negroes out of the unions. These causes are engendered by the negative attitudes of ignorance, indifference, and open antagonism which many Negro workers have adopted toward the unions.

Ignorance

By ignorance is meant not only a lack of understanding of the essential principles of trade unionism, but primarily a lack of knowledge on the worker's part of the existence of trade unions of his craft within the city. Not long ago, the writer met a Negro tailor who, after twenty years of residence in Boston, did not know that there is a journeymen tailors' union in the city. It is not known definitely how widespread is this situation, but the opinion of some Negro trade unionists is that it exists on a wider scale among the Negro workers than among white. Particularly, they claim, is this

true among the skilled craftsmen of the building trades: the masons, bricklayers, carpenters, etc., workmen who, for the most part, work independently at odd jobs of one sort or another and are quite often not steadily employed. It has been questioned of what benefits unionization would be to this type of skilled worker, but it is believed that even if the benefits were great, many of them are unaware that there are unions they could join in order to get these benefits. The barbers are another group generally believed to be ignorant of the existence of a union of their craft. One or two of them have been approached by labor leaders, but they have been inimical to the idea of organization.

The blame for such a situation should be shared equally by the workers and by the trade unions concerned. It is true that many Negro workmen have made no attempt to learn about the unions, but it is equally true that many of the unions have failed to consider the Negro worker. A white trade unionist declared that Negroes were not aggressive enough in looking out for their labor interests, and the unions, which were not particular about having Negroes anyway, made no effort to win their confidence and to get them into the trade union movement.

Indifference

Among many Negro factory workers the situation is not one of ignorance about the unions—they are in constant touch with white workers who are organized—but a matter of sheer indifference. The general attitude here is that so long as the job and the pay are steady and the boss is a good fellow, there is no necessity for organizing. Labor organizers in the clothing industries have had trying experiences with workers of this type. These workers are not inimical to

the unions. They have merely developed no interest at all in labor organizations. Sometimes pay cuts and lay-offs drive them into the arms of the unions, but they are poor risks and are among the first to drop out when things go badly for the union or, strangely enough, when the union demands have been met. Only the most intensive kind of labor education and agitation by the unions can break down the apathy of this group. The organizing efforts of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers among some of these workers have met with a fair amount of success only because of the persistence of their attacks and the endless repetition of the benefits to be derived from organization.

Antagonism

There is a group of Negro workers whose attitude toward the unions is one of open hostility. These workers are not ignorant of trade union methods and policies. In fact, the hostility of many of them is founded on a fairly accurate knowledge of these methods and policies. Their greatest complaint against the unions stems from the policy of exclusion and discrimination of which some unions are guilty. They contend that the unions have given fair indication that they do not want Negroes. The Negro worker's attitude should therefore be one of defiance. Even the unions which admit Negroes cannot be trusted for many of them have been known to discriminate against their black members on jobs. Furthermore, they claim, unionization cannot mean much to the skilled Negro worker because he is unemployed most of the time anyway. The union might protect his job, if he has one, but it will not get him one if he has none.

This distrust of the unions is not limited

to workers outside of the unions. Many Negro trade unionists share similar views. One union member stated quite frankly that his particular local was not a "damn bit of good." He claimed that the union made no attempt to help the men find work and refused to certify them for work unless their dues were paid up. Others tell of having to fight the personal prejudices of white union members; while still others claim that they received no support from their unions when employers sought to discriminate against them on jobs. But whereas the non-union Negro worker advocates remaining out of the unions, the trade unionist adopts the point of view that the Negro's place is in the unions, and that he should fight from within to break down the walls of prejudice and indifference that have been erected to bar his way.

Opinions of Negro Trade Unionists Regarding the C. I. O.

The opinions of the majority of Negro trade unionists who have been approached on this subject is that the establishment of the Committee for Industrial Organization has been the best thing that has happened to the labor movement not only in Boston but throughout the rest of the country. They point to the fact the C. I. O. has attempted to organize the host of unskilled workers who had never before been organized. From the viewpoint of the Negro worker this is important, for the Negro's labor in industry is largely of the unskilled variety, and of any single group of workers, he stands most in need of organization. As far as local experiences go, Negro trade unionists are firmly of the opinion that the locals of C. I. O. unions have never been known to discriminate against the Negro worker. That the C. I. O. has braved the storm of southern displeasure

by organizing white and Negro miners in the same union in Birmingham, Alabama, has done much to convince local unionists of the sincerity and freedom from prejudice of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Some of them interpret the C. I. O.'s liberal policy as merely the *beau geste* of a young organization struggling for members and the power that a large membership brings. They believe that as soon as it grows older and stronger it will become as prejudice-ridden as the American Federation of Labor. However, they are willing to give it the benefit of the doubt until such time as it may prove itself just another "white man's union."

These opinions concerning the C. I. O. have come not only from members of unions affiliated with it but also from staunch members and supporters of the American Federation of Labor. One of the officers of an A. F. of L. local states that a very large part of the interest now exhibited by Negroes in the unions is due to the activities of the C. I. O. He believes that many of the A. F. of L. unions are now forced to be more liberal in their policies toward Negro workers in order to meet the new competition. The growing interest that Negro workers are beginning to take in the trade union movement is being manifest in the increasing numbers of Negroes who have joined unions or are trying to join. The recently formed Red Caps' Union is, in part, the result of this growing interest. Negro workers are slowly beginning to think in terms of organization. If this awakening has come from the Committee for Industrial Organization, as it is claimed, it has done its work well.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Trade unionism has not been an active force among Negro workers in Boston for

several reasons. First among these reasons has been the numerical weakness of the skilled and semi-skilled employable population of the Negro group. The occupational status of the group as a whole has been low. The majority of Negro workers have been and still are domestic servants, menials, and unskilled laborers of one sort or another. Although in the thirty year period between 1900 and 1930 the proportion of employable males engaged in occupations within the mechanical and manufacturing industries increased 17 percent, their number in 1930 formed but 26 per cent of the total employable Negro male population. But all of the workers in these industries are not skilled artisans. In fact, the majority are unskilled laborers or at best semi-skilled operatives. Since the unions were organized on the basis of skilled crafts, Negro representation within these unions could not at any time have been great.

A second cause for the insignificance of the trade union movement among Boston Negroes has been the policy of exclusion adopted by many of the unions. This policy was, in some instances, not aimed directly at the Negro, but was intended to preserve the benefits of unionization for those already in the unions by closing the doors in the face of others aspiring to get in. But quite often care was taken to exclude the Negro worker by special restrictions that applied to him alone. Where there was no conscious policy of exclusion, the same results were achieved by a disinterestedness in the welfare of Negro workers.

On the other hand, Negroes have remained out of unions which they could join because of ignorance of their existence, indifference, or open antagonism based on the discriminatory methods employed by many of the unions. On the latter point, there is some difference

of opinion as to what the Negro's attitude should be respecting the unions. Many non-union workers advocate remaining out of the ranks while the trade unionists advise joining the unions wherever possible and fighting their discriminatory policies from within.

The actual number of Negroes who are members of local unions is not known. Twenty-nine local unions reported a total membership of 822 Negroes. Approximately 60 percent of the total reported are members of all-Negro locals—the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the Dining Car Employees, the Red Caps, and Musicians No. 535. Only 4 percent of the total reported hold memberships in unions of skilled craftsmen such as carpenters, masons, bricklayers, mechanics, electricians, painters, printers, tailors, and the like.

The experiences of the unions with Negro members have been satisfactory in the majority of cases reported. The complaint most often registered against Negro unionists is that they do not attend meetings although they pay their dues. Many are very active in union work and a few of them hold offices in their respective unions. Since the establishment of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the interest of Negroes in the labor movement has been greatly aroused. As a result of the attempt to organize unskilled laborers, many Negroes have been given their first taste of the trade union movement. Negro workers in Boston are gradually being awakened to the possibilities of organization. The hope of jobs for those who have none, and the vision of shorter hours and better pay for those who already have jobs, is the incentive that is sending many Negroes to the unions seeking admission. Definitely, a labor consciousness is growing where none existed before.

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IMPLICATIONS OF TOPOLOGICAL AND FIELD THEORETICAL PSYCHOLOGY FOR SOCIOLOGY¹

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Sociology has been appreciably affected by the rise and flourishing of various "schools" of psychology. The Structuralists, Instinctivists, Psychoanalysts, and Behaviorists have all left their marks upon sociological theory and research.

¹ *Principles of Topological Psychology*. By Kurt Lewin, translated by Fritz and Grace M. Heider. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936. 231 pp. \$2.50.

Psychology and the Social Order. By J. F. Brown. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936. 529 pp. \$3.50.

Now the influence of the more recent Gestalt school is being shown, largely in a realization of the importance of the whole and its patterning in any grouping of phenomena. A specific example is the emphasis upon the configurational and part-whole nature of the sociological region in modern sociological theory.² This sort of carrying over of the fundamental Gestalt principle from psychology to sociology may be characterized as analogical.

What is now an American extension of the Gestalt school has been fathered and christened "Topological Psychology" by Kurt Lewin and this extension has been further developed and applied to social psychology under the name of "Field Theory" by J. F. Brown. The newer approach seems to offer more to sociology than the orthodox variety of Gestalt psychology which has been chiefly focused on the supersummative quality of a whole, particularly in the field of perception. Lewin's book is chiefly occupied with "describing a 'tool,' a set of concepts by means of which one can represent psychological reality." (p. 6) The mathematics utilized is topology, "the most general science of spatial relations," and the determination of topological relationships is regarded as the fundamental task in all psychological problems. (p. 87) Brown carries this approach further into sociological realms than Lewin and devotes one entire section of his book to sociology. The content of his findings as well as his methodological system are of interest to sociologists. However, a critical summary and evaluation of Lewin's rather technical exposition will not be attempted in this review, nor will there be a detailed examination of Brown's application of

"Field Theory" to social psychology. We shall limit ourselves to noting one general implication for sociology and several rather specific implications for sociological research methodology.

The general implication lies in a considerable bolstering offered by field theory to the sociologistic³ as versus the psychological point of view regarding the primacy of sociology. Insistence on the importance of the field as against the idea of local determination within the person indicates the possibility and even the logicity of sociology and social psychology before individual psychology rather than vice versa. Instead of sociology's waiting for a perfected psychology of the individual on which to build, there is pointed the course of its immediate development under the assumption that for the macroproblems of sociology, the individual may be treated as a point region (with its structure undifferentiated) in the social field. (Brown, p. 300) With the exploding of the "human Nature" myth, (pp. 273 ff.) which obviates the necessity of positing any innate or universal desires of man as the social forces and of waiting for these to be fully analyzed, we can go immediately to the study of social psychology and sociology. In fact, it is individual psychology which must wait; for the goals of the various sorts of locomotions (the construct representing psychological activity) of the individual, and the barriers to locomotions are all variants of the social field structure. (p. 300) Thus there is implied a basis for the assumption of priority by sociology.

Of specific implications for methodology

³ Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, pp. 433-434. Sorokin's distinction between the "psychological" and the "bio-sociological," or "sociologistic" schools is based on the Spencerian versus the Comptean ordering of the sciences in a hierarchical arrangement.

² As in Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* or Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism*.

the first is of a positive nature and touches a matter of vital current interest in social research, i.e., the function of the case study. Sociologists have been racking their brains to find a "scientific" use for the material secured from the intensive investigation of an individual unit. They recognize such material is valuable but they cannot fit it into their somewhat stereotyped, quantitative, statistical, inductive process of arriving at valid principles or generalized relationships. A suggestion regarding the use of the case study is offered by the new concept of scientific law. To quote Lewin: "The laws define functional relationships between different characteristics of an event or situation." (p. 11) "... the opposition between universal concept and individual event is overcome. Law and single occurrence enter into intimate relationship. Thereby, the representation of single concrete cases gains a new fundamental meaning for science. Heretofore the single event could be thought of as only a chance occurrence and its representation could be valued merely as a curiosity. Only an average of many cases seemed to possess general significance. But if one considers the single event also as governed by law, one has to obtain scientific evidence from concrete 'pure cases' and not from averages of a great number of historically given events. Thereby the representation of single cases gains new scientific meaning. It has a direct bearing on the determination of general laws." (p. 8) For prediction in psychology, however, we must know not only psychological laws, but also the particular situation of the individual whose behavior is to be predicted. From this point Lewin disappointingly does not continue by describing the process of formulating the laws, but goes into the method of describing the situation by

means of a constructive representation—the other side of the task of explaining mental life.

Brown advances somewhat towards specificity here, although he gives due credit to Lewin. We must digress slightly to introduce certain topological concepts and terminology in order to phrase the contribution. The natural sciences differ from the phenomenological sciences in that they abstract certain characteristics of events and order them to certain logical constructs. (p. 19) They translate the description of events and situations from the language of the data termed "phenotypical description" to the language of constructs ("schematic interpretations which account for the essential characteristics of our normal experiential world") termed "genotypical description." Phenotype means the experience one expresses in ordinary, everyday language, genotype means the underlying dynamic situation. Then the useful laws of a science are simply descriptions of genotypes. (pp. 33, 34) It follows (although it is not so baldly stated by either author), that if for a single case the phenotypical description can be adequately translated into genotypical description, scientific law is formulated. Lewin will probably go into this aspect more fully in "Vector Psychology," to be concerned with the non-metricized dynamics of psychological events, a treatise promised to supplement his *Principles of Topological Psychology*, which deals with the framework of events "possible" in a life space. (p. 205)

Thus it is implied that if sociology develops the necessary sociological constructs to which sociological events can be ordered, one complete case study of any sociological unit may establish sociological law, which would of course be subject to verification by additional studies, or perhaps by statistical analysis of mass

data dealing with averages. Such supplementation of the method is indicated but not concretely illustrated in the exposition of the hypothetico-deductive method by Brown. Hypotheses, logical constructs and their dynamic relations must, in any science, precede measurement, for it is only by these that the ability to measure is developed. A full account of the sequence of such scientific procedure is given for only the physical sciences—(p. 32) perhaps psychology and sociology have not as yet completed the process for any single law.

Brown does offer one field theoretical analysis of a single case in social psychology illustrating this function proposed for the case study. (pp. 74-77) He presents the case of a crowd before a newspaper office receiving war news and becoming transformed into a mob with hostility directed towards an individual identified with the enemy. Next the events are ordered to the language of social psychological constructs and the phenotypical behavior of the group is deduced by the logic of dynamics. The actual results of such an analysis can not be given without the use of the constructs—membership-character, boundary, freedom of social locomotion, permeability, fluidity, structure, region, lines of field force, etc.—which would require too much space to be defined here. However, the situation is genotypically the same as that of a lynching, and the dynamic relations of the social field developed in one would hold in the other.

For research sociologists to make use of the case study in such a way there needs to be developed a wider range of sociological constructs. (Brown's are chiefly for social psychology and he admittedly restricts his work to those aspects of the subject which he feels most important.) It is to be hoped, further-

more, that the topological psychologists who are familiar with the method of field analysis will supply us with more monographic research reports illustrating the establishing of laws from case studies. Meanwhile, sociologists may themselves advance the methodology by careful experimentation along these lines.

A second implication which can be more briefly suggested is found in the philosophy underlying field theory. It consists of a basis for critical evaluation of sociological research. Ten criteria are tentatively set up for contrasting the older class theory ("Aristotelian Mode of Thought" in Lewin's terminology), with field theory ("Galilean Mode of Thought"). (pp. 35-41) Not only do sociological theories fail to fulfill the criteria for field theory, but specific research projects often can be shown to rest tacitly on modes of thinking here characterized as class theoretical. We illustrate with only the first of these criteria a point of view which a sociologist may well consider in preliminary evaluation of the purpose and meaning of a projected research problem before proceeding.

The first criterion for class theory is, "The behavior of objects is determined by the class to which they belong," and the corresponding one for field theory is, "The behavior of objects is determined by the structure of the field of which they are a part." Brown explains these: "In a 'class' theory, the characteristics of behavior common to different individuals of a class are abstracted. If the behavior of another individual shows these characteristics, it is included in the class, and the behavior is then regarded as explained. In explaining an event in a 'field theory,' the structure of the field is characterized in terms of laws, which we shall see are logical constructs. If the behavior of the

object follows these laws, it is said to be explained." (p. 35) By such criteria are indicated the fundamental differences of the two philosophies of science. The full account of the contrast is highly recommended for researchers in order to gain an insight into the impact of philosophical fundamentals (usually thought of only vaguely, if at all) upon their immediate problems of planning research. The following of the implication here for a close scrutiny into the logic and assumptions upon which a specific research problem rests promises to result in eliminating beforehand useless projects as well as suggesting modifications in nature which would yield material useful for the building up of the science of sociology.

The final implication for social research relates to subject matter. The paradoxical aspect of a psychologist's pointing out to sociologists the importance of the consideration of social classes in research by no means lessens the strength of his case. Brown attacks the basic matters of the reality of the classes and the existence of the class struggle with field theoretical analysis and shows that the opposite stands of the Marxists and

orthodox sociologists on these matters come from treating classes in terms of class theory.⁴

The implication for sociologists arises not out of Brown's specific analyses of social classes as such, but indirectly from his showing throughout the book the impingement of social class membership-character upon that of other groups such as the nation, church, family, and minor groups. This emphasis, together with his direct facing of matters of political organization and the present world crisis, permeates the book to such a degree that it may be called the first "class angle" social psychology. By using the field theoretical approach he indicates an avenue to these matters which may break the ice for the more timid, orthodox, academic sociologists. However the social research worker may rationalize motives or methods of getting at social classes, he may well take this cue for the necessity of treating them in any realistic attempt at an understanding of modern society.

⁴ In a footnote on page 169 Brown says: "The double use of the word 'class' in 'social class' and 'class-theoretical' is clumsy but unavoidable."

INCOME STATISTICS

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THE INCOME STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED STATES. By Maurice Leven. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1938. 170 pp. \$1.50.

STUDIES IN INCOME AND WEALTH. Volume One. By the Conference on Research in National Income and Wealth. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1937. 348 pp. \$2.50.

The Income Structure of the United States by Maurice Leven is an outgrowth of the Brookings Institution series on Income and Economic Progress made possible by

grants from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation. An earlier volume in this series, *America's Capacity to Consume*, gave the estimated distribution of the nation's income by income classes for the year 1929. The present volume is concerned primarily with the causes of inequalities in individual incomes and secondarily with the major changes in income distribution from 1929 to 1938.

Mr. Leven devotes six of his ten chap-

ters to a statistical exposition of what he calls the determinants of income. Certain determinants relating to the characteristics and environment of the income recipient are regarded as basic. In this group are included such factors as occupation, industrial attachment, geographical location, age, sex, and race. A second group of determinants are regarded as exercising influences which are superimposed on those of the more basic factors. Among the factors in this latter group which Mr. Leven discusses are unionization and other forms of group action, the business cycle, industrial disputes, technological progress, and stranded populations.

In Chapter VII of his study, Mr. Leven presents an illuminating comparison between the average income originally received by families in various income groups and the average annual value of what families in each group consume. The remaining chapters of the study deal with changes which have taken place since 1929 in wage rates and earnings and in the distribution of income by income classes and by major industrial groups.

It is difficult to do justice to Mr. Leven's book within the space of a brief review. Those who take the trouble to read it will appreciate as never before that there is no single solution for the problem of inadequate income. Moreover, they will gain a new understanding of what lies behind blanket averages covering the distribution of the nation's total income, an understanding which will save them from drawing unwarranted inferences from such data.

The Income Structure of the United States should prove a salutary corrective for persons addicted to the indiscriminating use of income statistics. *Studies in Income and Wealth* by the Conference on Research in National Income and Wealth is a more drastic cure for the same malady and like

most drastic cures it is somewhat hard to take. Briefly, this latter volume consists of reports and discussions on the concept of national income and on methods of income accounting. The contributors are specialists, most of whom are actively engaged in making the national income estimates which we so frequently use with insufficient understanding.

When specialists get together to discuss technical problems, it is to be expected that they will take for granted the broad area in respect of which they are in agreement and that they will devote a disproportionate amount of attention to the narrow border zones where differences of opinion prevail. The reader must keep this tendency in mind in perusing the proceedings of the Conference on Research in National Income and Wealth. Even so, he will be impressed by the extent to which our present estimates of national income depend on judgments and on methods of procedure concerning which the experts differ.

The zone of greatest controversy among the income statisticians relates to the measurement of that part of our national income which does not come to us through the medium of the market economy. What elements of this non-market income shall be included in the national estimates, and upon what basis shall they be assigned a monetary value? How, for instance, shall we treat the food which the farmer produces for his own use, the rental value of his house, the service income received from the use of durable consumers' goods, and the unrealized appreciation in the value of capital assets?

Shall governments be considered as producing income equivalent to the entire amount of their expenditures, or shall only those public expenditures which represent income to individuals be included in the national totals? In any event, how shall destructive expenditures

for war purposes be treated? Shall taxes be considered as a deduction from gross income or as a distributive share of the nation's net product which is set aside for collective use? What elements of income received by individuals shall be treated as original shares in the nation's net product and what elements shall be regarded as mere transfers from one individual to another? Shall relief payments from the proceeds of public borrowing be regarded as original income? Is interest paid on highway bonds, original or transfer income? Does the same answer apply to interest on war indebtedness?

The particular ways in which the above and other questions are answered are capable of producing differences of billions of dollars in national income estimates. If income statistics are to be used intelligently, it is important to know that these moot questions exist. It is even more important to know what answers have been given to them by the statistician whose estimates are being used. *Studies in Income and Wealth* consists in large part of the shop talk of statisticians. Despite this fact it is recommended to all laymen who habitually use and draw conclusions from income statistics.

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

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SOCIAL CONTROL OF INDUSTRY. By George Matthews Modlin and Archibald MacDonald McIsaac. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938. 449 pp. \$1.40.

POPULATION, RESOURCES, AND TRADE. By Burnham North Dell and George Francis Luthringer. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938. 391 pp. \$1.40.

LABOR AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. By David Aloysius McCabe and Richard Allen Lester. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1938. 374 pp. \$1.20.

Under the collective title *Economics and Social Institutions*, a six-book series has been published which is designed as a text for introductory courses in economics. The series surveys economic and social institutions, methods, and major problems by mere description as well as by critical analysis of their underlying principles and processes. Volume I, *Development of Economic Society*, deals with the process of economic institutions and systems since the Middle Ages and serves as historical background for the succeeding volumes. Volume II, *Introduction to Economic Analysis*, presents methods of economic analysis

from a realistic point of view, taking into particular consideration recent theories of monopolistic competition and imperfect markets. Of volumes III-VI, which are concerned with major current economic and social problems and their processes, Volume IV, *Money, Credit and Finance*, analyzes problems of modern financial institutions and their present operation. Volumes III, V, and VI are dealt with here.

Social Control of Industry (Vol. III). This volume, studying the development of practice and problems of social control in business, has two aims: first, it explains the meaning of the increasingly controlled economic conditions; second, it evaluates the problems and techniques of social control.

The present business world is analyzed in six parts. Part One, concerned with the structure of modern business organization and finance, shows that the corporation is the predominant business form today, and that corporative problems are, therefore, the prevailing ones. Part Two

investigates the present marketing systems with its new and different types of distributing agencies, and particularly the conflicting interests resulting thereof. The succeeding four parts deal with four important industries: Manufacturing, Natural Resources and Agriculture, Transportation, and Public Utilities, and show why and how the doctrine and practice of free private competition was and is ever more gradually being abandoned in favor of social control in public interest.

(The study goes much beyond mere information about economic facts by offering ample and valuable interpretation.) The economic development of the last half century has clearly been proven as a perennial process from the laissez faire policy to the present state of social control. By knowing where we have been and where we stand, the first condition is fulfilled for determining where to go.

Population, Resources, and Trade (Vol. V). The modern population problem consists of the relationship between population, resources, and economic organization. Not lack of resources, but their unequal distribution among populations forms the economic problem in the world today. One possible, but profoundly unsatisfactory solution lies in colonies and migration. About this we learn:

Only forty thousand Europeans and Americans have settled in the British Asiatic possessions at present holding the status of colonies. The number of white settlers in the British African colonies—not including Rhodesia—is about the same. The white population in the former German colonies in Africa before the war was only about twenty thousand. In 1931, the four Italian colonies in Africa contained a white population of about fifty-seven thousand. The only colonial areas that have taken a large number of immigrants are the French colonies in northern Africa, where, through immigration and the natural increase of the settlers, the white population has reached one and a third millions (p. 81).

The other and progressive solution, which presents the thesis of the study, is

international trade: "Economic welfare depends in the long run on a relatively free international movement of factors of production and of commodities" (p. 158). International trade, however, cannot go on with the present basis of economic self-sufficiency, but demands internationalism, if it is to progress rationally.

The study offers much well chosen material although there may be a difference of opinion as to whether Part One, "Population and Resources," should not contain more facts on resources and their distribution rather than on population theories, population growth, population distribution, and population changes. Part Two, "International Trade and Commercial Policy," examines the theory of international trade and the effects of the present national economic policy in the development of international economic coöperation.

Labor and Social Organization (Vol. VI). Labor is one of the most urgent problems of today. After having been ignored by many for a long period of time, and having scarcely aided those few who have courageously studied it, it is now generally accepted as one of the paramount questions in our economic and social life.

With logical necessity, the study starts with a description of the Labor Organization, its growth, structure, policies, and methods. While labor legislation alone does not solve the problem, it is, however, a decisive factor in its development. It determines the legal status of labor actions, the right of government intervention in labor disputes, and, not the least, some terms of employment. Social security is one of the principal labor demands and has been rewarded by granting compensation for accidents and unemployment, by old age pensions, relief, and finally by public works. After such a careful and instructive analysis of labor

facts, the fundamental question arises whether the labor problem is a problem resulting from our economic system as such, or only from its present form. The last part, "Social Reorganization," considers, therefore, Capitalism, Socialism, and Nonsocialist Systems as using with profit the latest experience and lessons which the different systems are practicing or proposing.

It is doubtful whether these three volumes of the series are serving the purpose of a textbook for students. Although they offer much material, they do not offer enough of it and, especially, do they fail to suggest the literature to be used by students. However, for one seeking elementary and general information about economic problems and institutions, the three studies are very valuable assets.

THE COMMUNITY AND CULTURE CHANGE

LEE M. BROOKS

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WE AMERICANS. By Elin L. Anderson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. 286 pp. \$3.00.
ISOLATED COMMUNITIES. By Oscar Waldemar Junek. New York: American Book Company, 1937. 130 pp. \$2.50.

Burlington, Vermont is now added to that lengthening list of sociological studies of representative communities such as Woonsocket, Muncie, and Phillipsburg. Seven years after two hundred Vermonters had analyzed themselves in a state wide study entitled *Rural Vermont*, this largest city of the Green Mountains was given a Middletownesque scrutiny by Miss Anderson and six specially qualified fieldworkers each of whom was familiar with a different ethnic group. *We Americans* is an examination of community processes, a well rounded study of cultural detail emphasizing cleavages in the American city.

Cleavages there are: ethnic, socio-economic, and religious, and the greatest of these is religious. Separations and splits, largely self-imposed, affect all groups. Here in a city of 25,000 people are 10,000 immigrants (or their children) half of whom are French-Canadian; 1,208 English-speaking Canadians; 1,102 Irish; 741 Russians and Poles, mostly Jewish;

457 English; 392 Italian; 309 German; and twenty-nine other nationalities. More than 15,000 of the total population is highly parochial in its devotion to Rome, the French-Canadian type staying remarkably apart from the Irish. Other dichotomies have to do with a "place in the sun." The heavy work of the lake front, the business section halfway up the hill, and the professional groups on the hilltop largely of the State University, suggest social topography and strata fairly common in American life where the patchwork pattern of nationality groups coincides with occupational specialization. Unifying theories and processes in American democracy seem to crumble upon impact with tradition, doctrine, indoctrination, ethnocentrism, and various vested interests.

One of the most provocative chapters is entitled "How the kingdom of God divides an American city" and one of the most indicative paragraphs (p. 181) in the entire book is this: "No lecture (sponsored by the University) in recent years has been on pressing economic issues facing America today. The lectures have usually been on such subjects as 'Ancient Persian Rugs,' 'My Trip Through China,' 'Old

English Ballads.' It is understandable that the French-Canadian mill worker, the German carpenter, the Irish storekeeper might prefer to go to the movies." Such passages as this and others that might be quoted, notably page 263, will impress the thoughtful reader. If ours is not a futilitarian culture, the question may well be asked, when will our higher educational and religious institutions come to grips with community reality?

As in so many other aspects of modern life the conflict is growing keener between statics and dynamics. The book reveals in clear delineation the stability of the Old Americans and how the currents of New American life mingle but seldom fully blend.

Giving evidence of scrupulous care in the use of questionnaire, interview, and statistics; interweaving of family detail without special treatment of the family institution itself; written in simple style with scholarly precision, *We Americans* is a fine contribution to the sociological understanding of the small New England city.

* * * * *

Where Saint Lawrence waters narrow into the Strait of Belle Isle is the locus of Professor Junek's study of 1934. The community of Blanc Sablon totals twelve huts inhabited by seventy-eight fisher-hunter folk only half of whom are literate. Life on the rocky shore of Labrador is hard and meagre,—no newspapers, infrequent mail service, a single radio set, no doctor nearer than fifty miles and many days away, a barter economy with the big historic trading company appearing in the rôle of exploiter. Yet life is peaceful,—"no murders and no homicides for decades," (p. 120).

The study sought to discover the extent to which this remnant of early French life

is a folk system and the degree to which it is influenced by city culture or civilization. The author shows again what has been emphasized by other students of culture diffusion, namely, that material traits obviously needed and useful to the native will be welcomed, even quickly adopted while non-material traits remain rooted in tradition and habit. For the lower Saint Lawrence communities the one-cylinder internal combustion engine has been most significant. Educational, religious, and health *mores* show slight tendency to change despite contacts and influences through commerce, lighthouse service, and occasional visitation.

It is to be regretted that folklore and music had to be omitted from the study. Perhaps also a fuller treatment of morbidity and mortality trends should have been included. The work is interestingly illustrated; however, oft-mentioned communities such as Longue Pointe should have been located on the map. The book deserves an index.

This valuable addition to the literature of culture belongs on the active shelf along with books by Hobhouse, Wissler, Malinowski, and others.

THE WASTED LAND. By Gerald W. Johnson. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. 110 pp. \$1.50.

This little book is both a penetrating analysis and a signal of warning to the Southeast and the nation that waste of resources, both human and natural, is a threat to public welfare and security.

Gerald Johnson is a native North Carolinian, was educated in that state, taught at Chapel Hill, and since 1926 has been an editorial writer on the Baltimore *Evening Sun*. He thus brings to his analysis, not only training and experience, including the teaching of journalism as well as newspaper and journalistic writing, but

also a background of wide first-hand knowledge of the region about which he writes.

With the broad reception given Howard W. Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States*, one might expect that *The Wasted Land* would be merely a digest of that work. It is that, all right, but more. Johnson has made an interpretation, based on *Southern Regions*, but distinctly colored by his own emotions, point of view, and personal insight into the problems. He portrays the South that was; the South that is; and projects the South that might, and should, in his judgment, be. The author aims to set these three eras in clear perspective. He goes back to Odum's massive work, but absolves him, his colleagues, and the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council, from all opinions not expressed by them, and with which they might not necessarily agree (foreword).

Johnson writes with a fervor that is obviously flavored by a desire to stimulate interest in, and to arouse the people to an awakened understanding of conditions and impending needs. For instance, "Waste is the enemy. Waste of land, waste of people, waste of time, waste of energy—these, and no outside foe, are throttling her [the South]. Therefore loud defiances and bitter complaints are simply more waste. There is one remedy, and one only—to stop the waste. But who is to accomplish that? . . . Nothing can do it but the intelligence and energy of the people of the region" (p. 108).

Cotton comes in for a full share of blame in producing the conditions indigenous to the region. ". . . and it is clear that something definitely unpleasant is going to happen to cotton." Then it is pointed out that foreign competition, fibrous substitutes, and the cotton-picker, stand as

mute, but obvious, evidence of the dethronement of King Cotton. Tobacco also has its threats, though not so serious. The South will remain agrarian, but it is in for a good over-hauling in agricultural policy. The problems, though acute, are problems simply involving waste; they are not inherently problems of destruction. A relatively small group of intelligent, alert individuals could furnish leadership by acquainting themselves with the facts and exerting intelligent action.

The South has thrown away—wasted—ninety-seven million acres of land through soil erosion, but more than that; leaching and over-cropping the soil have added their penalty. The South is guilty of each of these practices.

The Southeast is really the region of wasted land. Its social organization operates on a more complex and vastly greater scale than in the Southwest, and, consequently, has been hit a harder blow. The muddy waters pouring down through the rivers to the sea is a wasting away of southern wealth.

Southern industry is, like its agriculture, too highly specialized. A diversified industry and a diversified agriculture, working together through an aggressive leadership, are greatly needed. The soils of the South need lime; the agricultural system should include vast increases in dairying.

In any agrarian region waste of land means also waste of the people. The South is deficient in its skills; it needs more technicians, and should import many of them from outside, including Yankees, Germans, Danes, Swedes, etc. The Southeast must get rid of its tendency toward xenophobia, the hatred of the stranger. Also the South must have more capital, must retain its credit in the money market.

Likewise, the South must correct its

deficit in institutional services. Much has been done in thirty years, but much more remains to be done. She may look for help from outside, and much has already come in from other parts—from the Carnegie Corporation, and from the Rosenwald, Peabody, and Rockefeller funds. But primarily the waste going on in the South must be brought under control by Southern energy and intelligence. If she proves to be lethargic and stupid, then she must pay the penalty.

The migrations out of the South have resulted in a waste of its people, just as erosion has wasted its soils. The people of the South, comparatively, are poor and young. This is a two-edged sword cutting at the educational problem; more youth, less paying power.

Two major characteristics of the South are that it is (1) agrarian, and (2) of a bi-racial character. The Negro should be dealt with less as a Negro, and more as a Southerner. The Negroes are here, and the South is now confronted with making the best possible use of eight million of them. The problem may, in the economic sense, be looked upon, not as a Negro problem, but as a Southern problem. The broad aspects of this particular problem need more study, rather than minute details. Whites and Negroes should come to regard the Negro as, quoting Odum, "an integral, normal, continuing factor."

The educational system in the South has labored under great handicaps. In higher education, especially, education has been subdivided, first by the division between church and state, then by races, then by sexes, then by denominations, and then by State lines. This has produced some inefficiency, duplication, lost motion—waste. Other forms of waste in the South are: inefficient labor, waste of leisure time, of library resources, of music and of art.

Johnson's final interpretation as to the direction that should be taken centers around such ideas as the following: The first duty of the inhabitants of the Southeast is to learn that there is a South, a region in reality, characterized by the existence of land, water, people, with fairly definite boundaries, and not consisting of separate states only. Any effort to check the waste, which functions as a unit, must be met by a people functioning as a unit in attacking the problems creating the waste. This is essentially the meaning of regionalism. Rather than attacking localism, prejudice and bias, the problems that are as clear and bold as the land, forests, or the muddy waters, should be attacked. This cannot be done at this time by making blueprints; the facts are not sufficiently known. What is needed is to recognize Odum's classification of problems (1) agriculture, (2) industry, (3) politics and government, and (4) institutions of learning, and then to study these and work out plans and procedures as remedies may be revealed.

The South, being agrarian, naturally agricultural problems and policies should receive first attention and consideration. This will require technical skill of a high order, and some outside technicians must be imported. But Southern-born and Southern-trained technicians would possess the initial advantage of familiarity with the problems. Much original investigation is urgently required, and technical skill should be forthcoming, whether indigent or imported. In the social sciences local investigators are more familiar with the culture and should be trained along scientific and technical lines to carry on much of the original research.

While no miracles should be expected by attacking these problems through the frame of reference suggested by Johnson,

yet, with concentrated and coördinated effort, much may be done. Organization, working through existing educational machinery, will accomplish a great deal; but a first-rate university, correlating the efforts of those of lesser rank, would accelerate the rate of achievement.

There is no middle way, the author argues; in one direction lie the horrors of *Tobacco Road*, in the other a diversified agriculture and a diversified industry, with their concomitant effects in improved living standards. Individual states cannot do the job; it is a regional task, involving thought, coördination, regional coöperation.

It would be well for everyone interested in Southern life and culture, within and without the South, to read this stimulating and interesting book. Few statistics are cited, but important suggestions and ideas are brought together. It is the work of a practical journalist, using the factual evidence of a group of scientists, in making interpretations, pointing out suggestions, drawing inferences, and inciting inducements toward actional regionalism.

B. O. WILLIAMS

Clemson College

THE ADMINISTRATION OF FEDERAL GRANTS TO STATES.
By V. O. Key, Jr. Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1937. 383 pp. \$3.75.

This study was approached in the belief that "The future use of federal aid will turn largely on its administration." Under the sponsorship of the Committee on Public Administration, of the Social Science Research Council, Dr. Key has probed beneath legal provision and nominal policies and has delved into practices and problems of actual operation. He presents an action picture of federal-state coöperation which should be brought to the attention of all practical-minded

public officials and students of inter-governmental relations.

The author does not set out to evaluate the work of specific federal agencies responsible for grants to states. Instead, he describes and indicates the utility of the several methods of federal control and supervision which recur under various grant-in-aid programs. For example, chapters are devoted to advance review of of state plans and budgets, federal inspection and field service, auditing, reporting, and withdrawal of grants. In addition, there are chapters dealing with state organization and personnel administration, as well as with the rôle of associations of state officials and the organization of federal supervisory agencies. The development of each topic is accompanied by pertinent references to the experiences of various agencies and is convincingly illustrated by facts obtained through first-hand contact with federal and state officials. Although recognizing the importance of federal grants as a means of adjusting tax raising and spending functions, the author reviews problems of finance only to a limited extent.

The outstanding contribution of this book is in its analysis of informal devices and expedients so vital to the administration of federal grants. The author points out that a state may comply with all of the formal standards conditioning the receipt of grants and yet have extremely ineffective administration. It is the "web of informal relationships" which tends "to weave together state and federal administrative personnel." Although they may have dictatorial powers, in practice, federal officials tend to work in "collaboration" with state officials. The strategic value of having consultants identified with nearby regional offices rather than with distant Washington is appreciated, as is the consummate im-

portance of face-saving diplomacy in maintaining effective relations with states. In brief, the most pronounced characteristic of the report is its comprehensive and sympathetic treatment of the subtler aspects of federal-state relations.

To readers who have given considerable thought to this subject, many of Dr. Key's findings will be of special interest, either in confirming suspicions or providing new perspective. He concludes that federal grants have usually been made for "service" rather than regulatory functions. The subvention system tends both to mold existing state activities in keeping with the national interest and to extend such activities. In general, state governments have been strengthened rather than weakened by federal influence, and local preferences have been given recognition. The charge of undue federal encroachment upon states' rights through the supervision of aided activities is not well-founded—in fact, state officials and associations often subject the federal agency to their will. States which maintain relatively high personnel standards tend to find themselves less subject to federal control in other matters. Federal authority needs to be extended, but even those sanctions already available are often used reluctantly. Temporary federalization of state programs may well be adopted as a last resort, but the national government must then be prepared to assume the entire financial responsibility.

The author notes that state officials responsible for administering aided activities often look to the federal agency rather than to the governor for leadership. The fact that it is simpler for federal officials to deal with quasi-independent, self-contained units contributes toward the tendency to insulate the aided functions from the state government as a whole. The most significant activities of asso-

ciations of state officials are described as political and quasi-political. Federal consultants on legislation and administration are realistically recognized as performing to a large extent the function of lobbyists. The public welfare and health aspects of the social security program give new prominence to political subdivisions—a fact which leads the author to suggest that the inefficiency of local government may prove to be the chief problem of federal aid administration. In discussing the distribution of costs of federally aided activities among the various levels of government, Dr. Key adds to the growing body of opinion that greater uniformity in standards of service should be secured through some device for equalization among administrative units on the basis of relative need and capacity to pay.

This book stops short of including sufficient detail to satisfy the federal administrator who desires to benefit fully from the experience of other agencies. Some readers may question whether sufficient support is always provided for the inferences and conclusions given. For the most part, however, a reasonable balance is maintained between generality and detail. Some will prefer Bittermann's (*State and Federal Grants-in-Aid*) organization of material, according to which individual programs are discussed in some detail under general headings, to Dr. Key's detailed topical outline and rather incidental discussion of individual agencies. The inherent difficulty of attempting comparisons between techniques used in administering programs so basically different as unemployment compensation and public roads is not entirely overcome. Relatively little emphasis is given to the varying stages of maturity of the programs reviewed. Some of the faulty practices mentioned are in reality recognized by

federal and state officials to a greater extent than the author indicates, and a number of the difficulties described have been resolved since the study was made.

This book is admittedly an analysis of problems rather than an attempt at complete solutions. It is not a discussion of theory, but it does cast doubt upon some old theories and assumptions. It reflects not merely an understanding of the principles of public administration but also an unusual insight into the human equations involved. It well represents the objective of the Committee on Public Administration to set down helpful guides to practical administration.

IVAN ASAY

Social Security Board

THE ATTACK ON LEVIATHAN: REGIONALISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Donald Davidson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. 368 pp. \$3.00.

Donald Davidson is a member of the *Southern Agrarian* group of violent dissenters from the idea that progress lies along the pathway toward industrialization, urbanization, centralization, and ethnic fraternalization. If *The Attack on Leviathan* may be taken as representative of the present position of this group, however, there is considerable evidence of a swing away from the older, self-assertive and militant sectionalism toward the new regionalism as expounded by Howard W. Odum and his associates, centering around the University of North Carolina. More specifically, Davidson in this volume puts less stress on the nostalgic yearning for an Old South, *Sub*, which existed only in romantic imagination and seems more willing to admit that there are present-day problems which must be solved in terms of a modern world—or perhaps in terms of a world yet to come into being. This is indicated chiefly through his

commendatory restatement and review of the work of Odum and Rupert B. Vance particularly, but also in the liberal use of other regionalist, as opposed to sectionalist, authors and their ideas.

The book, indeed, might almost be characterized as a collection of reviews of books in the regional field, so closely does it follow one after another of those who have written on the subject. Indeed, this is one of the chief faults of the work of Davidson. Had he chosen to discuss the ideas in blocks rather than in terms of particular writers and their books, his contribution would have been more valuable and more pertinent.

The book opens with an exposition of the ideas of sectionalism and regionalism in which the shift of position is evident. A few years ago, it is suspected, Davidson would have insisted that the two terms were synonymous; now he traces the distinction. However, he later returns to his previously stated idea that the political aspect of regionalism must be sectionalism and approves the plea of Frank L. Owsley for intersectional tariffs on imported products. Later he asserts that the regionalists can achieve a nationally united effort only if they can discover "a 'moral equivalent' for sectionalism." "The South must either play sectional politics, or it must be still a dependent, hoping to receive a bounty on terms that will not be too disagreeable or humiliating . . ." (p. 310). His opinion of the effectiveness of regional doctrine in the field of practical politics is extremely low.

Other sections of the volume are devoted to discussions of the persistence of traditional culture patterns in various portions of the nation, relationships between urban and rural, the influence of the Wests, of regionalism in the arts and education; and the contributions of various Southern writers to these prob-

lems. There is a sort of appendix which consists of contrasted reviews of H. G. Wells' *The Shape of Things to Come* and George William Russell's *The Interpreters*; selected, no doubt, as presentations of the technological and mystical points of view. Davidson, of course, strongly favors Russell.

Throughout the book the yearning for a return to the "good old days" of the pre-Civil-War era is as apparent as the fear and distrust of the modern trend. What Davidson and his associates seem utterly unable to understand is that the southern "Bourbon" of today, who represents almost all that is repugnant to them, is the lineal descendant of the large slave master of their sanctified period. His clothing may be slightly different, but the lineaments of his countenance, and his habits and motives are very, very similar. Both then and now he sought and attained control of the society in which he lived; and by the same tricks of political and economic ruthless exploitation of whatever came within his grasp. It might also be pointed out, of course, that whether we like it or not social conditions do change and there is no satisfactory way yet devised to nullify the simple statement that *tempus fugit*. And in this country, at least, the flight of time has brought industrialization, urbanization, centralization, and a slight but observable trend toward ethnic fraternalization, the collective *bete noir* of the Agrarians. Hence the "Southern Liberals" such as Henry Grady, Walter Hines Page, Virginus Dabney, and Gerald Johnson are viewed with an eye heavy with suspicion that they are tools of the industrialists. Arthur Raper is evidently suspected of being an undercover man for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Howard W. Odum and his associates

are viewed more kindly; they see the South as it really is; "the good sociologist must be a regionalist" because "only through a regional study can he get at culture from the inside" (p. 300) but at the same time it may be just as well to reserve judgment since regionalism may turn out to be a disguise for servility or a tool of those who seek to erect a totalitarian state.

Professor Davidson has written a brilliant, but disappointing book. For page after page he gives every evidence of coming to realistic grips with his problem and of seeing it in its fundamental form. Then the picture of a factory smokestack or a Negro in a parlor-car rises before his eyes and blots out the insight he was about to gain. To exorcise such horrible nightmares, he immediately conjures up visions of the ante-bellum South of fanciful imagination; and is back in the mood of *I'll Take My Stand*. But throughout the present volume there is evidence that he may soon gain the will-power or the courage, whichever is lacking, to see the present southern portion of the United States as it is. If and when he does, he will combine the beautiful and persuasive literature he now produces with facts and logical conclusions which should do very much, indeed, to bring into being the sort of an America he hopes for.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

University of Texas

THE PROFESSIONAL THIEF. BY A PROFESSIONAL THIEF. Annotated and interpreted by Edwin H. Sutherland. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937. 257 pp. \$2.50.

The general reader, as well as the criminologist, will find much to interest him in *The Professional Thief*, the latest volume in the University of Chicago Sociological Series. It is a remarkable collaboration by a thief emeritus and a professor of sociology at Indiana University. The

thief did the bulk of the writing on suggested topics; this material was amplified by discussion, and the whole rounded out by footnotes and an interpretive chapter.

A thief is here defined as the criminal who uses wit rather than force as in the case of the robber: the classification includes pickpockets, shoplifters, black-mailers, forgers, and confidence men. Theft is shown to have most of the characteristics of a profession. There is an exclusive group, having technical skill, which achieves recognition (and even protection) by agents of the state. The thief differs from members of other professions in that he does not pretend to be ethical, but frankly admits that his object is to secure money with ease and safety. This particular thief spent a total of five years in jail, rather less time than doctors or lawyers spend on their education.

Of greatest importance are the techniques and connections which give immunity to professional thieves. Cases are 'fixed' through an intermediary by bribing or exerting political pressure upon law enforcement officers or by persuading the victim to accept restitution. The citizen who sees his case through to justice does much to upset the 'fix.' Efficiency records of courts and police are maintained, while turning loose the professional, by giving prison terms to amateurs. The supply is plentiful, seventy-five percent, for instance, of shoplifters belonging in this category. 'Fixing' is most prevalent in lower courts, and almost unknown in the federal system.

Although this book covers the score of years prior to 1925, and the pattern of crime has altered with that of society, Professor Sutherland's conclusions based upon it still appear fundamental. He finds that the culture of the underworld grows out of the general culture, and that theft is a reflection of social disorganiza-

tion. Any thief would quit his profession if assured of a remunerative job. G-men to catch criminals or prisons to reform them are futile while others are being created by predatory interest. Deep seated political reform is necessary to eliminate the 'fix.' Confidence men will flourish as long as our citizens have larceny in their hearts: it is a maxim of thieves that it is only possible to swindle a man who is trying to do something dishonest. Further research topics are suggested: in particular the selective processes and methods of tutelage by which an amateur becomes a professional and the manner of his integration with agents of criminal justice. If an adequate policy of crime is to be formulated, the policeman must be observed under the sociological microscope with the thief.

This book is written in criminal argot and each term defined in brackets on its first appearance; a repetition or two would help the reader in learning what is, after all, a foreign language to him and would save much thumbing of the glossary. It is unfortunate that Professor Sutherland did not find a way of including much of the material now in the notes parenthetically in the text as it is so copious that the reader has the distracted feeling of delving simultaneously into two books. The index might have been profitably extended. On the other hand, the format and typography are unusually attractive. This book is one of the most colorful, and at the same time one of the most scholarly contributions to criminology that has appeared this year.

JAMES HARGAN
Consulting Psychologist

New York City

PRICE AND PRICE POLICIES. By Walton Hamilton, et al. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938. 565 pp. \$4.00.

The present work is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the institutional determinants of price; it consists of seven reports prepared by five authors for the President's Cabinet Committee on Price Policy and two interpretative sections by the senior author. The reports deal specifically with the automobile, the automobile tire, the gasoline, the cottonseed, the dress, the whisky, and the milk industries.

In the usual textbook treatment of price determination one encounters simple and virtually unqualified representations of hypothetical supply and demand situations. For pedagogical reasons such initial treatment seems necessary. However, inasmuch as the limitations and the implications of the usual geometrical representations receive little attention, the elementary student (and frequently the advanced student) leaves the field of price determination with a distorted and inadequate picture of the underlying situation. Consideration of materials such as are embodied in the present work may serve to redress economic pedagogy in part.

Each of the seven reports presents "a picture of the habits, arrangements, and practices which give to the industry in question its individuality." The impact of changes in technology, tastes, demand, and business practices upon prices and price policies are treated in detail. The reader comes away with a complicated and difficult-to-formulate picture of price-making forces at work, and with the realization that the price system, as it now functions, falls far short of bringing about a satisfactory allocation of goods and services.

Among the points suggested and in some degree discussed by Professor Hamilton in his comments upon the findings of his co-workers, two stand out. First,

given modern technological circumstances and modes of production, the determination of cost in the economic sense is becoming increasingly beset with difficulties. Second, since political controls have permanently invaded the sovereignty of the market, it is essential that these controls be subdued to the public interest, and be prevented from operating to the advantage of strategically situated minorities. "Authority means power; and its exercise must be based upon adequate knowledge, a suiting of policy to the industry, and the contrivance of measures to meet the occasion."

Some readers will find their patience taxed at times by the efforts of the junior authors to emulate the conspicuous rhetorical gifts of the senior author. The reviewer felt at times that the author of any given report tended to overemphasize the internal character of the evolution of the specific industry treated by him, and to underestimate the influence of the general socio-economic medium upon the internal development of that industry.

J. J. SPENGLER

Duke University

A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS THE SOUTH. By Jonathan Daniels. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. 346 pp. \$3.00.

This additional volume to the growing literature of the South, the most thoroughly documented of any region in the country, may well be examined from the viewpoint of two quotations. The first of these is an editorial tribute to Thomas Wolfe in *The Saturday Review of Literature* for September 24, 1938. The other is a quotation from the University of Chicago sociologist.

In the first quotation by Jonathan Daniels, the spirit of the present book seems to be typified in that he is trying to appraise a man and artist in terms of his

realistic background and his region. Thus he says:

Tom Wolfe will be a legend. Indeed, while he lived in his great body and in his huge all-touching existence as well as in his big books, he seemed sometimes less a man making fiction than a giant marching in his own legend which was also the legend of his people. And that story of the Gants and the Pentlands at its worst and best grew from this American earth and the people who live upon it. North Carolina, where both Wolfe and his legend began, did not readily appreciate that.

The second quotation is from E. S. Johnson as a part of his radio discussion of the problems of the South, in which he draws an analogy between the South and the slums. Thus he says:

A city is made up of parts, just as the nation is. I should say, without disrespect to the South, that the South in a sense represents the city slum, which is an economic and a social and a political liability. It is the place where there are the most delinquencies, the most crime, the most poverty. It is that section of the city which does not pay for its own running expense.

If we can think of the South's relation to the nation as analogous to the slum's relation to the city, I think we can get a better picture of how directly it bears upon the national welfare.

A Southerner Discovers the South does attempt objectively to give a realistic portraiture of the Southeastern part of the United States in terms of perhaps a larger number of realistic facts and settings than is ordinarily found in such a book. In contrast to the analogy of the slums Daniels portrays a very wide range of culture, ranging all the way from Charleston and New Orleans to the lower brackets of agricultural marginality commonly assumed by the other regions to be characteristic of the whole South. Although Jonathan Daniels presents the volume with vivid, spicy pictures, clothed in the delightful style of the author, he is really a much better sociologist than the Chicago

professor who misses the whole point of cultural evolution.

If I had to set down Mr. Daniels' sins of omission, it would be that he has not presented in the way that I should like to see it done the ideologies and the dynamic ideals of the great southern middle class. In particular, I do not find the picture of that great group of teachers in the South who gather in state-wide teachers' associations and who read bulletins and journals by the thousands from the N.E.A. and office of Education, and who are tormented jointly by their aspirations towards liberalism and their loyalties towards tradition. I do not find in the book the conclusion which seems to me everywhere justified—that many of the southern folks are the best folks in the world, often doing the worst things! Motivated by the age-long, "for God, for country, and for home," surely a traditional index of high morality, their behavior patterns follow very clearly the framework of the universal folk society.

Well, we welcome this book which we hope will be followed by another one soon, and we hear that Paul Green is soon to turn out a sort of omnibus entitled "Out of the South," and we hear of quite a few others, including the announcement that Odum's *An American Epoch: Southern Portraiture in the National Picture*, out of print for some years, will be republished. Perhaps the hopeful antidote in the midst of this flood of southern books is the fact that in other regions there is growing up a great body of materials for regional documentation.

HOWARD W. ODUM

University of North Carolina

AMERICANS IN PROCESS: A STUDY OF OUR CITIZENS OF ORIENTAL ANCESTRY. By William Carlson Smith. Introduction by Romanzo Adams. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1937. 359 pp. \$3.00.

It took the World War, its disclosure of the partisanship of national groups for different European countries, and the consequent formal "Americanization" movement, to give us the ten volume *Americanization Studies* examining the current adjustments of European heritages to so-called American culture. To students of democracy, minorities, and the mingling of cultures, it has been a source of keen regret that the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast begun a few years later, did not expand into at least an equally ambitious attempt to present the social and cultural adjustments resulting from the entrance into the United States of the still more "alien" Orientals. As Romanzo Adams points out in his Introduction, in the case of this second problem, the factor of color and distinct physical features serves to sustain the barriers of prejudice, and to suspend the process of adjustment in a form of conflict and incompleteness.

We are, therefore, grateful to William C. Smith for having persisted with his publication attempt through the depression, so as to spread for us a broad canvas of the problem, even though a single volume could not fill in the picture as he desired. The book is the result of several years on the Pacific Coast and three more in Hawaii, all prior to the present Sino-Japanese conflict, studying the second generation Oriental. During this period he not only had access to the documents of the Survey of Race Relations and contact with numerous individuals close to the problem on the coast and in Hawaii; but he collected some fifteen hundred personal life histories.

After an all-too-brief background sketch of Oriental heritages, and of the island and continental matrices into which they were transplanted, he sets our perspectives with population percentages. Since the

first generation's toil on the Hawaiian plantations provided the situation in which the second generation was first molded, and to which it reacted as it expanded in the democratic leveling process of education, that entire setting is described historically and analytically, and then rounded out with a discussion of occupational opportunities and adjustments in Hawaii and on the mainland of the United States. Aside from the family, school, and economic institutions, attention is given separately to language, institutionalized and propagandic religion, and society in general, each considered in the light of contacts made, mutual reactions, status lowered or raised, and so on. The volume concludes in a review of disorganization and reorganization, hybridism, and personality types.

The brevity of the materials frequently given on sub-topics, and the valuable hundred pages of supplementary and reference notes, are together symptomatic of the difficulties confronting the student in this field who wishes to keep a broad perspective and yet to restrain himself from generalizing beyond his data. As an ideal of what is needed in the field, the volume leaves much to be desired, therefore; but its very deficiencies call attention to the opportunity for an adequate study. As a conscientious contribution and a sympathetic interpretation, this book itself should be in the library of every student of modern race and culture contact, racial minorities, and the problems of melting-pot democracy.

MAURICE T. PRICE

Denver, Colorado

THE EJIDO: MEXICO'S WAY OUT. By Eyley N. Simpson. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. 849 pp. \$5.00.

Here is a careful, unimpassioned study of the central problem of the Mexican

revolution conceived and executed in the best tradition of social science, coupled with a somewhat impassioned presentation of a plan for the reconstruction of a national society so that it may profit rather than lose by the inevitable participation in world economy now being brought about by internal and external forces.

The plight of the peon has furnished the ideals and the fighting men which have made Mexico a land of recurrent revolution since the middle of the last century. The current revolution, dating from about 1910 has been very largely concerned with a better distribution of lands to the agricultural population, about 70 percent of the total. The current attack on this problem is through the *ejido*, or communal lands belonging to the village rather than to the individuals who farm them. As Dr. Simpson shows this is in line with ancient practice of the people, a part of their folk culture, and might be designated a protest against a huge enclosure movement which had virtually wiped out such holdings. It is the *ejido* to which the major portion of the book is devoted. A definitive study of the land problem in the republic is based on historical sources in addition to case studies of five communities, restored or in process of restoration, picked to illustrate the problems attendant upon the redistribution of land. And it should be said that, although the writer is very sympathetic with the program, he has not pulled his punches. Indeed a reading of this case material is likely to leave one with the impression that the program is doomed to failure, so careful is he to indicate weaknesses.

Around the *ejido* as the fundamental cell, Dr. Simpson sees the possibility of building a partially industrialized social life which will enable the Mexican nation to benefit from its enforced participation

in world economy. For such participation is certain to come, and soon, he argues; and there is no escape from industrialization. He rejects as utterly unrealistic the "Oh-the-loveliness-and-the-wonder-of-dark-brown-hands-moulding-dark-brown-pots" school of thought and calls for the control of the industrialization which he sees in the near future, either at the hands of Mexicans or nationals of other countries if the Mexicans do not. Faced with this belief, he states his thesis: "Functional definitions of property and profits; decentralization of industry and population through the use of electric power and motorized systems of transportation; regional planning and the renaissance of village life: let us assume that here we have the secret, as, indeed, I believe we do have, of the way to live in peace with the 'machine'." For such a program, he points out, Mexico has the natural resources of potential hydroelectric power, petroleum, minerals, and village population. Time yet remains, he believes, in which to work out the program. But, he strongly infers, leadership of the required efficiency is not present and its development is highly problematical. For this reason the book ends on a question rather than with a prediction.

This work is an excellent argument in favor of the proposition that it is possible for a man to reason logically, do impartial research, and at the same time feel deeply about the material with which he is working. Both Mexico and this nation lost heavily in his death a few months ago. But both were fortunate that he had written *The Ejido* before that time.

HARRY ESTILL MOORE

University of Texas

THE FOLKLORE OF CAPITALISM. By Thurman W. Arnold. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. 400 pp. \$3.00.

It seems useless to criticize any book for not being another book. Yet it is necessary to fit a book into its time and see how it measures up to current watermarks. If published this month for the first time, Milton's *Areopagitica* would cause little stir. With this in mind one looks askance at the lavish effusions occasioned in most liberal journals by Thurman Arnold's *Folklore of Capitalism*, which is in fact only the folklore of American capitalism. The author makes a further mistake in considering Capitalism as a form of government parallel to Fascism and Communism.

Mr. Arnold begins by showing how men hold certain ideals but act in ways contradictory to these ideals. Morality is an ideal, but prostitution flourishes; everyone believes in "good government" but political machines persist; we are all for the "American standard of living" but refuse to let the government distribute available goods and services to those who sorely need them. From this he concludes that all ideals are useless to the "fact-minded observer." Questions of "justice" and "democratic principles" are not relevant to solving the labor problem. When men become absorbed in the search for universal truths, creeds abound but practical activities flounder: "the distribution of available comfort and efficient organization are impossible." It is as though men stopped acting to think and then having solved current problems left off thinking to act. Having come upon a situation in which the current ideology is no longer adequate he decides all ideologies are futile.

In reality Arnold himself harbors in a very real sense one of these universal ideals. In fact, it is the mainspring of his entire satire. But he refuses to admit it or examine it, simply saying (we shall assume): "for the time being that maxi-

mum production and distribution of goods are a good thing." It is this that endears him to the liberals: he is on the right side. But one wonders how clear-sighted or dependable an ally he will remain if he refuses to admit or name his doctrine, and merely bases his implied approval of government housing, etc., on the grounds of its making things obviously more "comfortable." Fascism may be as comfortable as democracy for certain groups of people.

Arnold is indeed repetitious in poking fun at men's hesitancy in acceding to measures which would bring an immediate satisfaction because of their fear of some future harm this action might entail. This he conceives to be a kind of psychological self-torture which creed-bound mortals habitually practise. A child labor amendment is forestalled because in some fancied ultimate instance it might mean the government would rush into the homes of the nation and establish absolute domination over the children. He does not differentiate between the somewhat fantastic *reductio ad absurdum* of this type and a reasonable circumspection. He might have cited an equal number of cases in which liberals and labor groups display a masochistic hesitance to accept present advantages, as for instance the opposition with which trade unionists greet shower-baths supplied by employers. Workers' reason for behaving in this way is that shower-baths mean paternalism, paternalism means repression of trade unions, etc. Anyone who sees beyond his nose must judge each measure on present expediency plus appraisal of how it fits into the long view of a good society. It is difficult to see how men are to take the next steps ahead advocated by our author if they have no idea where they are going. Nor has the writer any general theory with which to understand the past. He de-

clares that there is no way of deciding whether modern society is better than medieval society was. If he applied his own fundamental but unadmitted ideal of maximum production and distribution of goods a partial answer would be relatively easy.

The lack of a theory with which to analyze the past or predicate the future makes it impossible for him to understand the present. With his lawyer background and a neat knack for speaking in paradoxes, Arnold gathers a telling array of "folklore." But he fails to see what the function of these taboos, creeds, and slogans is. Creeds and ceremonies arise out of institutions and serve to give cohesion, he observes. What he does not observe is that within institutions there are classes, economic interest groups which use slogans phrased in the language of universal appeal to rally and to hold other classes in acquiescence to their domination. Our learned professor is amazed to find a group of "bankers, business men, lawyers, professors" stubbornly opposed to the Interstate Commerce Commission's intervening in the bankrupt affairs of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad and suggesting a cut in rates. None of them owned stock in the corporation, and the trains would run just the same, so why did these men object? He concludes that they were unable to elude the fascinated hold which the idea that government intervention in business was full of spiritual dangers had upon them. Perhaps this is what they said. What their stand actually denoted was an opposition to a procedure which challenged even in a small way the class to which they belonged and on which their economic status depended. However, one group can keep another in tow whose interests are really opposite if it is adroit and per-

sistent enough in the manipulation of symbols. This has always been the greatest function of "folklore." Thus the conflict which plagues the writer throughout the book resolves itself not into a conflict between ideals and reality, but between class and class with the aid of propaganda compounded of folklore.

His inability to see this deludes Arnold into mistaking the shadow for the substance. Creeds become the prime-movers of men. "Most of the interesting and picturesque wars have been fought not over practical interests but over pure metaphysics." The Black Legion found itself involved in a series of floggings and murders because it was a group of "misguided psychopathic personalities caught by the solemnity of a ritual." Roosevelt was re-elected by an immense majority, yet he is opposed on every specific reform because each runs counter to some accepted myth. If the same group opposed the Roosevelt reforms that elected him it would indeed indicate some sort of psychopathic schism in the social organism.

It is beside the point to criticize pure satire for not being constructive. But Arnold deliberately offers a procedure (especially in the chapters "A Platform for An Observer of Government" and "The Social Philosophy of Tomorrow") for remedying the deplorable situation he has uncovered. He suggests that the gentle reader think in terms of organization rather than superstition. We are to begin by considering life and government as drama. (At this point the problem of words becomes an awful bugbear as it always does when thinking goes astray.) Then reform comes by applying the principles of psychiatry to maladjusted institutional personalities through their "institutional subconscious minds."

The writer hastens to forestall us at this point by admitting that he does not know what an "institutional subconscious mind" is. However, by this method all such abstract logical and moral hindrances as democracy can be circumvented in the interests of immediate workable adjustments. It all boils down to this, says our Professor: "Be an adult, and avoid infantilisms." Since everyone won't be able to be quite this objective he advocates with a great show of common sense that we keep our inspirational folklore intact for the benefit of the great majority of the people who have a psychological need for it. The trick is not to let these notions interfere with the practical activity going on behind the scenes. "Institutional creeds . . . must be false in order to function effectively. This paradoxical statement means they must express contradictory ideals and must authoritatively suppress facts which interfere with these ideals."

Thus the good society takes shape as a vast asylum in which a few knowing individuals humor the inmates in their delusions while attempting to make them as comfortable as possible. The piteous irony which we are sure would draw Thurman Arnold's sharpest barbs could he but see it, is that the masses are healthy and sane and really believe in and desire to effect ideals at once fundamental and practical; but being susceptible to education and sentiment they can be despoiled by the exploiting minority by means of folklore. But not for always. One day they will make democracy, and individual liberty, and the American standard of living come true. This, Professor Arnold will view from the observer's platform and record as another myth.

MARIAN KAUFMAN BROWN

Washington, D. C.

THE OLD SOUTH: STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRACY. By William E. Dodd. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. 312 pp. \$3.75.

This book is the first of a proposed four volume history of the South by William E. Dodd, long a stimulating teacher of Southern history at the University of Chicago, author of several well known books dealing with the South, and more recently United States Ambassador to Germany. The work is primarily interpretative, rather than factual, history, although the general story of the four colonies—Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas—is related down to 1690. In an introductory chapter the author gives an excellent description of the southeastern region of the United States: the coast line, rivers, types of soil, and climate; the three major geographic areas, coastal plain, piedmont plateau, and mountain highlands; forests, game, and Indians are all vividly portrayed and their influence upon the history and civilization of the region is analyzed and discussed. While there is little new in the story, it is exceedingly well told. The remaining thirteen chapters of the book deal with the settlement and development of the four above named colonies in the seventeenth century. The author does not attempt a detailed account of either the internal history of the colonies or of their place in the British colonial empire; rather, he interprets that history in terms of a struggle for democracy. As he himself says "free homesteads, freedom of religion, self-government and free trade have been the major subjects of the following chapters" (p. vii).

Many will take issue with Professor Dodd's interpretations. In fact the reader will be hard put to accept them unless he ignores the well known facts of colonial history. He will doubt that the settlers

were almost entirely concerned with the issues of political freedom and religious liberty to the exclusion of earning a livelihood. Did the early settlers "risk their lives on hundred ton boats" for "religious freedom and simple self-government" without considering the economic advantages of the New World? Were not many of the colonists in fact forced to come to America as involuntary servants? The author estimates that three-fourths of the settlers came as servants either voluntary or involuntary. Again the reader will not be inclined to accept the author's view that manhood suffrage prevailed throughout the colonies. And one will doubt that there was the perpetual and conscious struggle for democracy which the author depicts.

Due emphasis is placed upon the influence of tobacco in the development of the Chesapeake area. "The charmed weed . . . wrought the miracle" and made possible the growth of the great estates in Virginia and Maryland. But Negro slavery is almost entirely overlooked. Such institutions as the church, county court, vestry board, and militia are treated but always with the fundamental purpose of showing how the struggle for democracy was everywhere and at all times involved. The same interpretation is placed upon the struggle between Claiborne and Maryland for control of Kent Island, the conflict between the Puritans and the followers of the Stuarts, the violation of the navigation acts, and Bacon's Rebellion. While an element of self-government was involved in all these controversies, it is difficult to accept Professor Dodd's interpretation that democracy was the primary issue at stake and that the governing group was consciously beating down a rising democracy.

In Professor Dodd's treatment of the

efforts of the Stuarts to control the colonies after 1660 one finds a rather striking parallel to the New Deal of today. The Stuarts attempted to restore and maintain prosperity by a "planned economic system." Interlocking directorates controlled markets, the fur trade, slave trade, and landed estates, and dominated governmental policies. A little A.A.A. was set up to control tobacco, a resettlement project was established, a "superintendent of public works" was appointed, a housing program formulated, and reforestation, by planting mulberry trees, was undertaken. As a result of the struggle democracy and self-government was advanced. In the light of Mr. Dodd's support of the New Deal the reviewer suspects that this parallel was consciously and intentionally drawn.

The author often writes in vague and obscure language so that the meaning of sentences and passages cannot be determined. The effort to build up a case for democracy has led to contradictory statements impossible to reconcile. Some errors of fact have found their way into the text. Footnote references are most disappointing. One finds, for instance, citations to works of several volumes without either volume or page numbers. And such a footnote citation as "Frequent references in the correspondence of John Randolph and Nathaniel Macon, 1800-1828" (p. 41) is most exasperating. Where is this correspondence to be found? What is the date of the letters involved? Are we to take the citation on faith? In spite of such faults and the questionable interpretations of the author, the work is a stimulating and provocative one. The clearcut delineations of certain problems and the sweeping generalizations of the author will make a deeper impression than more detailed historical writing, and the

reader will be in no doubt as to Professor Dodd's views on democracy.

FLETCHER M. GREEN

University of North Carolina

LANDLORD AND PEASANT IN CHINA. By Chen Han-Seng. New York: International Publishers, 1936. 144 pp. \$2.00.

This is a contemporary study, or field survey, of rural life in the southernmost province, Kwangtung, of China. One hundred fifty-two villages in 38 districts are included. The population of the province is 32,000,000, with a land area of less than one-half that of Texas. This mere reference to population density does not, however, tell the whole story. According to geological surveys, less than one-third of the land area is cultivable, while at the present time less than one-sixth of the land is actually being cultivated. Nor is this all. In this agricultural province, less than one-third of the peasants owned as much as five mow (less than one acre) of land, nearly one-half were entirely landless, and more than 60 percent of the land was rented from landlords.

Rent, which was commonly paid with grain even when none was grown on the land rented, amounted to from 50 to 57 percent in the different districts, while from 60 to 90 percent of the peasants were in debt in the several districts. The usual interest rate charged on a grain loan is 30 percent for six months, while the monthly interest rate on pawnshop loans is from 2 to 6 percent. Small wonder then with the peasant's love for land that the author could state:

Only as a last stand in their desperate struggle, do the owner peasants resort to mortgaging their land. Personal properties can be replaced, more children can be bred; but land is hard to get back once it has been lost. The typical Chinese peasant holds on to the land after the last quilt has gone to the pawnbroker.

Partial significance of the social effects of these interest rates can be seen when it is recalled that two-thirds of the peasants in Kwantung are in debt, and further that 30 percent of these borrowed because of sickness, death or some other unexpected occasion, while 70 percent borrowed to obtain food for their families. There is no use of credit by the peasants in this Chinese province for productive use, as is so common among American farmers.

Dispassionately presented, this study affords those who may be interested an opportunity to learn more about an area and a people of increasing interest as the interdependence of all peoples of the world is more generally and genuinely appreciated. Indicative of the author's ability and broadmindedness is the following statement:

To claim that any particular size of farm unit represents the optimum from the point of view of production leaves out of account the social system which determines the effective use of labour.

Indicative of the dry humor used occasionally is the following:

Those who have much can easily get more; and those who have little can easily lose more; this may not be the will of God, but up to the present it seems to be the will of man.

Conscripted labor for tax payments. Contributions for feasts. Gifts for daughters of landlords at marriages and for the gods at the death of the landlord. Clan obligations and clan lands. Sale of excess daughters into semi-slavery and worse by hard-pressed peasant fathers for relatively small sums. All of these and many other features of an agricultural economy too foreign to the understanding of the American for general appreciation are discussed.

While the author is convinced that the present crisis in Kwantung province is the result of a system of land monopoly, he in

no way forces this view and states that his study "is not intended to provide conclusive proof of any theory. It is, rather, a slice of contemporary life which the student may examine for himself." He is not, however, optimistic about the future.

We close our survey, then, upon a note of misery beyond which human experience can hardly go except in times of catastrophe. . . . The Chinese peasants are suffering from feudalism as well as from capitalism, from a crisis of underproduction in China and also from a crisis of overproduction abroad, and moreover, they are suffering as a colonial people under foreign domination. . . . Chinese militarists and bureaucrats, a great majority being themselves landlords and compradores, can never and will never help to liberate the peasants from their bondage. They only desire to keep up, as far as they possibly can, a status of land monopoly, which is the basis of their exploitation.

CLIFTON J. BRADLEY

*Production Credit Corporation
of Louisville*

ECONOMICS OF COOPERATIVE MARKETING. By Henry H. Bakken and Marvin A. Schaars. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937. 583 pp. \$4.00.

Coming as it does from authors in Wisconsin where practical coöperation has abounded for years, this volume presents an excellent new book in a rapidly developing and important agricultural field which has been sadly in need of a good college textbook for some time.

Students and teachers of coöperation in agriculture will find this book distinctly useful. It is organized on the functional instead of commodity approach, yet it has adequate commodity illustrations and specific examples to make the book sufficiently practical for use as a class textbook in thoroughly teaching the principles, practices, and problems of coöperation.

The book is divided into five parts: the evolution of coöperative buying and selling, the economic philosophy of co-

operative marketing in the United States, legal considerations of the coöperative method of marketing, functional relationships of coöperative organizations, and coöperation in perspective. The term "marketing" is used in the broad sense to mean both buying and selling, and farm supply and similar purchasing coöperatives are treated as well as are marketing co-operatives.

Historical development, essential principles and practices of operation, and economic theory are all covered. The chapters dealing with the various functional principles of coöperative organization such as legal phases, financing, management, pooling and sales policies, which are orthodox to most courses in coöperation, are very well done, and the subjects are thoroughly discussed from their practical standpoints as well as being spiced with relevant economic theory.

The book appears to be very teachable, it being well set up as for main headings, topical side headings, enumeration of main points, and use of explanatory charts and tables. Each chapter is introduced by a tersely written general statement and summary of the problem under discussion and following each chapter is a fairly good set of study questions based largely on the book.

To say that the book is without fault, however, would probably be saying even more than the authors themselves would sanction. The writer believes that Chapter I dealing with the setting of coöperation in an economic society and its comparison to the various "isms" of the day could all well have been made one of the closing chapters of the book instead of the opening chapter. Also, in dealing with coöperation in America, Chapter III could have been made more complete and thorough, particularly with respect to the importance and present status of

coöperation in this country's agriculture today.

Part II captioned "The Economic Philosophy of Coöperation in the United States" is introduced by Chapter V on the basic economic concepts of the coöperative movement, and is followed by several chapters dealing with the factors and essentials necessary for successful coöperation, types of associations, and membership relations. The chapter on basic economic concepts is very well done, but probably the book would be improved if the caption to Part II was changed by omitting the philosophical emphasis, and then incorporating Chapter V, which is the only chapter in this section that deals very much with philosophy, into some latter section of the book where all the philosophy, economic theory and concepts could be brought together into one section.

Each chapter is followed by a set of study questions, but there are no suggestions for further reference reading except the bibliographical notes scattered through the footnote references, and unfortunately there is not a single photograph in the entire book.

In Chapter X the writer cannot help but feel that the subject of membership relations is somewhat slighted. Here the authors have approached the subject from a psychological standpoint, and given over most of the chapter to a discussion of fundamental motives and attitudes upon which the patterns of practical membership relation programs can be based. Little mention is made of the responsibilities and duties of officers, employees, and members, although this is briefly discussed in the chapter on management, and little help is given with respect to methods and techniques of educational work and the development of programs that make for an enlightened

membership. Obviously, there are limitations as to how much of such material should be made part of a textbook, but probably coöperation in American agriculture today would be farther along if such material had been included in the coöperative literature and textbooks of earlier days.

Inasmuch as in recent years much of the literature on the subject of membership relations has become overtrite, the authors have made a noble contribution in daring to be unorthodox and presenting the psychological approach to the subject. However, students would probably profit none the less if the authors had also been more practical. Coöperative leaders are more and more coming to recognize the fact that healthy and active coöperatives depend for their thriftiness as much upon good membership relations based on education, enlightenment, and understanding as upon financing, marketing contracts, and other traditional factors. The psychological approach of the authors, however, is very well done, and undoubtedly enhances the use of the book for advanced and graduate students, as also do some of the other chapters.

This reviewer also believes that the authors' discussion of the fundamental philosophy of coöperation and the place of coöperation in our present economic system with all its benefits and limitations, is weak. The book is replete with economic and coöperative theory, but a good deal of it that is scattered through the book could, instead, have been brought together in one final section and strongly supplemented with a discussion of the real philosophy of coöperation and its place today in fighting the rigidities which exist in various parts of our economic and social machinery. Coöperating farmers of the future, and certainly their

leaders, will need to be well grounded in the fundamental philosophy of their coöperation from the standpoints of both economics and sociology. Students of coöperation today, most of all, need that ground work.

To sum up, it should be said that the faults of the book are trifling in comparison with its merits. Although coöperation has been a thing of practice in America from Colonial days, it is only in recent years that this subject has been studied in the agricultural colleges of the country, and only in the past couple of decades has it commanded the leadership of agriculture and agricultural educational circles. Only few textbooks have appeared in this field, and "*Economics of Coöperative Marketing*," by Bakken and Schaars, is a notable contribution to the rising tide of coöperation in this country.

Although the authors do not contribute any significantly new coöperative or economic philosophy not already known, for this was not their objective, their book is far more than a mere summary and compilation of the writings of others. It is distinctly the work of the authors, it is well written and readable, and in no place is it not fundamentally sound. Moreover, it is clean of the emotionalism and sentimentalism which so often characterizes the writings of the coöperative movement today. It cannot be over-emphasized that the general all-around excellence and good features of this book far outweigh its minor weaknesses. In fact, what faults it may have are only challenges to teachers to make their own contribution to the teaching of a most enjoyable subject—the principles and problems of coöperation in agriculture.

E. J. NIEDERFRANK

University of Maine

EXPERIENCE-WORLDS OF MOUNTAIN PEOPLE. A STUDY OF HINTERLAND AND VILLAGE LIFE IN THE SOUTHERN APPALACHIANS. By M. Taylor Matthews. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937. 210 pp. \$2.25.

I am calling attention to Dr. Matthews' *Experience-Worlds of Mountain People* for a number of reasons. It is in the first place a different sort of approach to the study of southern folk culture and must be catalogued in the conglomerate list of titles about this region. I am more interested, however, at this time in his statement of the relation of this sort of study to the inquiries of sociology. He challenges sociologists to discover ways of measuring and testing individual differences and the relation of individuals to institutions. The third reason for calling attention to the book is the feeling that Dr. Matthews probably excels in the art of multiplying technically termed approaches and in the use of the long standardized sociological jargon.

Now, let us see about these points. Dr. Matthews says: "It seems likely that the time is ripe for sociology to develop those peculiar techniques which ultimately will reveal not only how men differ or in what respects they are alike, but much more significantly what factors in the person's environment influence him with greatest force, the relative degree to which persons similarly situated are influenced in the basic patterning of their personality by the various stimuli in their environment, and the relative rapidity of the person's movement toward conformity or disconformity with his institutional and other life activity stimuli." He thinks that research in these fields will concern itself with the relative influence of various groups of stimuli upon various classes of persons, and that there are many kinds of

environmental influences, including natural stimuli, technological stimuli, and institutional stimuli.

Now, it seems to me that there is no more important area or problem for sociological research in the modern day than this inquiry into the rôle of individual and cultural differences in relation to adjustments and readjustments in modern social tension. I think that Dr. Matthews has produced a very original and stimulating series of questions, postulates, and characterizations, many of them clearly self-evident truths reclassified and reinterpreted. Since my own terminology has been set up as a fine example of study that needs "translating," perhaps it may be appropriate for me to call attention to some of the extraordinary conclusions of Dr. Matthews' work, which may serve as a warning for others! For instance, here is one of his typical heavy-faced topical statements: "Institutional routinization and a dominant telic value-system 'capture' the person by means of habitization, superordination of telic values, and gossip controls."

I leave the book, however, to the readers with the following summary on page 185, five pages from the end of the book, which closes with the following recommendation: "Therefore, if any one thing more than any other were to be set out as the central need of the area as shown by the result of this study, that one thing is probably the need for a continuous and permanent system of direct adult-contact with one another as community units before the ablest vocational, economic, political, religious, and social teachers of their times."

Inasmuch, however, as it appears obvious that variations in degree of meaning arising from the person's experience of any continuum depend partly on variations in degree of the person's sensitization to the stimuli of that continuum, an attempt was

made to measure differences in degree of sensitization of various populations to each of the eight regularized continuums. Since sensitization depends partly on degree of self-identification with any continuum, the indices of identification distance constitute, at least, partial indices to degree of sensitization. In general those continuums most closely identified with the self were also the continuums which aroused the highest degree of pleasurable anticipatory response, and the populations most closely identifying themselves with the whole round of the eight continuums were also the populations ranking the highest in pleasurable anticipatory response, in participations, and in level of desire for attainment. These facts emphasize the dependence of meaning on the state of sensitization in the person who will experience meaning. But unevenness in meaning experienced by different sex, age, and locality classes who of necessity must live more or less intimately together measures the lack of harmony or, at least, the problem of accommodation among these different classes of the same group. Whether differences in the identification distance at which various classes of the same group live from their institutional and regularized continuums depend mainly on variations in biologic make-up, on variations in the social or technological situation, or on variations in the mass or inherent 'potential' of the eight continuums themselves was not ascertained.

HOWARD W. ODUM

University of North Carolina

HISTORY OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY FROM PLATO TO BURKE. By Thomas I. Cook. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1936. 725 pp. \$5.00.

To sit down and read a history of political theory in a brief space of time is to get a singularly unsatisfying impression of the significance of philosophy and an inaccurate idea as to the teachability of a text. While such a book, and this one in particular, may throw flecks of light on the influence of thought on social evolution, the shadows of doubt predominate. Do political philosophers in any accurate sense, either directly or by inversion, express the spirit and content of the political life of their times? Are the ideas common to Rousseau and his confreres and Plato and his immediate predecessors more a matter of linear influence or rather

the consequence of an identity of cultural age between the Graeco-Roman and the Western-Faustian worlds, as Spengler implies? (Professor Cook would certainly reject the latter view.) Is Plato's reaction of antipathy to the political institutions of Periclean Athens, to be taken as characteristic of a trend of thought induced by the direction of social evolution in Greek Society while Rousseau's passionate renunciation of the conventional world round about is looked upon as primarily the result of personality and experience? Is the chief influence of philosophers simply upon subsequent philosophers, or do they inspire lines of conduct in men of action? (Where the philosopher is also an administrator as in the law or the church, this problem is simpler.) Or do philosophers construct intellectual systems as the rationalization of one age which become the shells or forms for the canalization of thought in subsequent ages of similar spiritual content—as the revival of Aristotle in the Middle Ages?

On the basic question of the relation of thought—especially systematic thought—to social evolution, Professor Cook does not contribute much and probably did not intend to. Yet it is something to which the historians of political philosophy should certainly devote themselves for in this "activistic" world theorists are being treated with increasing scorn—even by professors. (As witness Professor Sait's recent volume on *Political Institutions*.)

Professor Cook, however, has written a readable text. The leading thinkers are taken up in chronological order. Brief historical sketches describe the main events of their lives and suggest the possible influences of personal experiences on the ideas developed. The chrono-

logical continuity and development of the main concepts of political philosophy are traced and the ideas of each thinker are set in the general pattern of the thought contemporary with his writing. The treatment of each major philosopher or school of thinkers is concluded with a summary estimate of contribution and influence.

There are few if any quotations—all the text being Professor Cook's own exposition. There are almost no footnotes. There is no formal bibliography but each chapter is followed by a bibliographical note advising the student what additional material to read and whether or not such material is introductory or for advanced study. The style, while somewhat pedestrian, is lucid and straightforward. Some of Professor Cook's critical judgments seem of doubtful validity, but in general the teacher will find the substance well set forth and he will be in a position to develop the insights which he thinks should be emphasized. The volume concludes with Burke, and it is Professor Cook's intention to continue the work to the present time in a second volume.

Political theory in large doses leaves this reviewer with the feeling that theory should not be taught separately but should be well integrated with the history of the period giving rise to the theory. Such an approach is institutional, however, and scarcely susceptible of being confined within the covers of a text book. Professor Cook has achieved a well-balanced development for covering so much ground and has, by reference and implication, kept the historical background in the reader's mind as an essential element in understanding the ideas discussed.

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